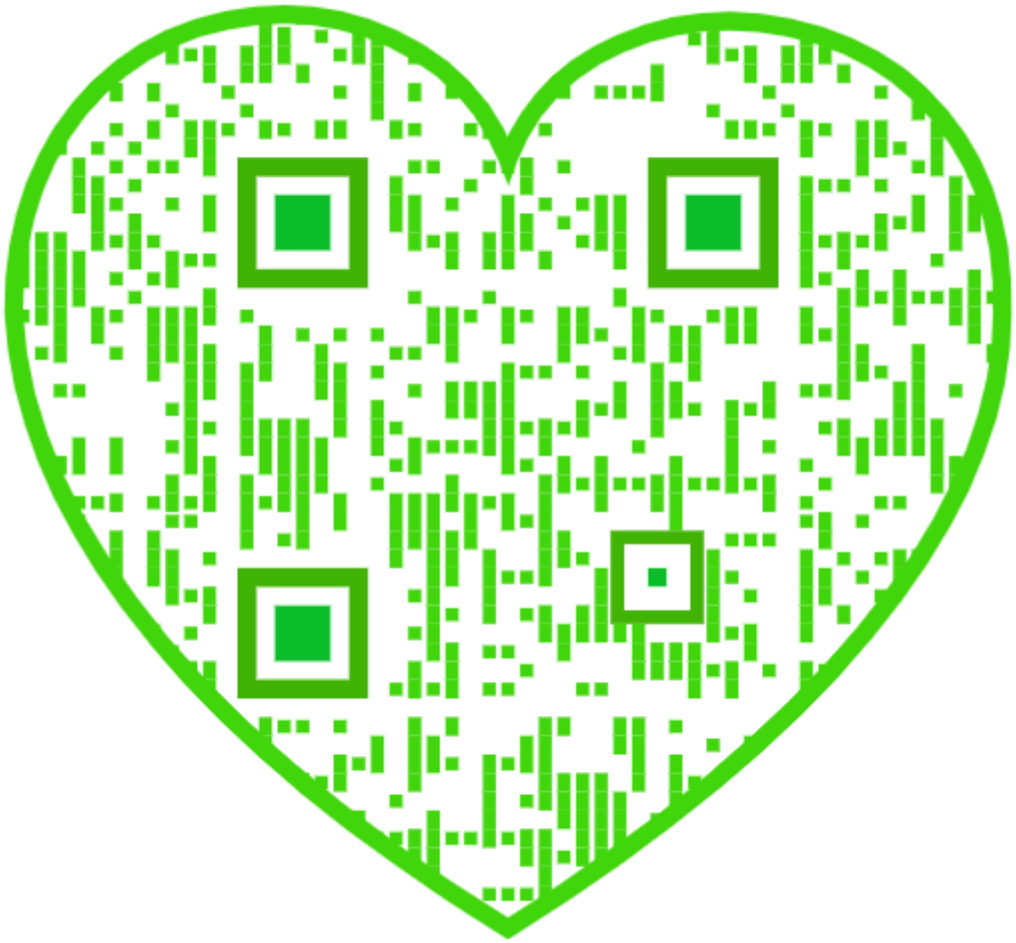

LOMBARD ARCHITECTURE

VOLUME I

LOMBARD ARCHITECTURE

By
ARTHUR KINGSLEY PORTER

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NOTE: Dates established by documentary evidence are printed in heavier type.

c. 575?	Brescia, S. Salvatore. Fragments of masonry and carving.
c. 590	Barzanò, S. Salvatore.
c. 600	Isola Comacina, S. Eufemia. Capital of crypt.
c. 680?	Pavia, S. Stefano. Remains of columnar basilica.
c. 730	Bobbio. Tomb of S. Cumiano.
c. 730	S. Giorgio di Valpolicella. Western bays of nave and ciborio of baptistery.
c. 735	Como, S. Abondio. Carlovingian fragments.
743	Pavia, S. Pietro in Ciel d'Oro. Fragments in museum.
751	Verona, SS. Tosca e Teuteria. Outer wall, central bay.
753	Nonantola. Capitals of crypt and fragments in archivio.
c. 760	Brescia, S. Salvatore.
772	S. Pietro di Civate. Remains of earlier church.
c. 775	Modena, Cathedral. Fragments of ambo, etc.
c. 775	Porcile, Madonna della Strà. Certain capitals.
c. 775	Villanova. Capital and carved slab.
c. 780	Brescia, Duomo Vecchio. Crypt.

c. 807	Verona, Cathedral. Two capitals.
c. 800	Bologna, S. Pietro. Parts of sarcophagi of S. Vitale and of S. Agricola.
c. 800	Milan, S. Ambrogio. Campanile de' Monaci.
c. 830	Milan, S. Vincenzo.
c. 840	Verona, S. Lorenzo. Carlovingian fragments.
c. 860	Asti, S. Anastasio. Part of crypt.
c. 875	Agliate, S. Pietro.
c. 875	Bardolino, S. Zeno.
c. 875	Sermione, S. Pietro in Mavino.
c. 875	Verona, SS. Tosca e Teuteria. Main part of existing edifice.
876	Milan, S. Satiro. Cappella della Madonna di Pietà.
885	Asti, S. Giovanni. Capitals of crypt.
889	Settimo Vittone, Battistero di S. Lorenzo.
899	Verona, S. Stefano. Nave, transepts and capitals of ambulatory and crypt.
c. 900	Agliate, Battistero.
c. 900	Isola S. Giulio. Capitals of side aisles.
c. 900	Novara, Battistero.
c. 900	Pavia, S. Eusebio. Capitals of crypt.
903	Piacenza, S. Savino. Two capitals of crypt.
923	Aosta, S. Orso. Crypt and core of church.
c. 930	Agrate Conturbia, Battistero. Bit of wall.
c. 940	Milan, S. Ambrogio. Apse.
c. 950	Asti, S. Secondo. Capitals.
c. 950	Milan, Chiesa d'Aurona. Fragments, Group B.
975	Vicenza, SS. Felice e Fortunato. Capitals of crypt.

c. 980	Lenno, S. Stefano. Capitals of crypt.
c. 990	Milan, S. Calimero. Apse.
c. 990	Verona, S. Stefano. Ambulatory, choir and crypt.
991	Spigno, S. Quintino.
c. 1000	Ivrea, Cathedral. Ambulatory and eastern part of crypt.
c. 1000	Lago di Mezzola, S. Fedelino.
c. 1000	Milan, Chiesa d'Aurona. Fragments, Group C.
c. 1000	Milan, S. Eustorgio. Apse and parts of eastern bay of choir.
c. 1000	Montecchia di Crosara, S. Salvatore. Northern absidiole, etc.
c. 1000	Sagra S. Michele. Crypt (?).
c. 1000	S. Giorgio di Valpolicella. Eastern bays of nave and belfry of campanile.
1002	Sagra S. Michele. Coro Vecchio, Foresteria.
1005	Piacenza, S. Savino. Campanile.
c. 1005	S. Pietro in Valle.
c. 1005	S. Ponzo Canavese, Battistero.
1006	Torino, S. Salutore. Church now buried.
1007	Como, S. Abondio. Fragments of carving brought from S. Vincenzo of Galliano.
1007	Galliano, S. Vincenzo.
1008	Vigolo Marchese, S. Giovanni.
c. 1010	Aosta, Cathedral. Eastern part of crypt, piers, lower part of southern campanile, part of south wall, carved slab.
c. 1010	Padova, S. Sofia. Fragments of nave.
c. 1010	Vigolo Marchese, Battistero.
c. 1015-**1023**	Acqui, S. Pietro.
c. 1015	Galliano, Battistero.

1019	Bologna, S. Pietro. Parts of sarcophagus of S. Agricola.
c. 1020	Bologna, SS. Nabore e Felice. Crypt.
c. 1020	Cirié. Apse and southern wall.
c. 1020	Cremona, S. Michele. Capitals of crypt.
c. 1020	Piobesi Torinese.
c. 1020	Porcile, Madonna della Strà. Lower part of campanile.
1022	Piacenza, S. Antonino. Corbel-tables of nave and transepts.
c. 1025	Cavriana. Nave.
c. 1025	Lomello, S. Maria Maggiore.
c. 1025	Mariano, Battistero. Walls.
c. 1025	Settimo Vittone, Battistero di S. Lorenzo. Bell-turret.
c. 1025	Sparone.
c. 1028-1040	Como, S. Carpoforo. Nave.
c. 1030	Loppia di Bellagio. Ruins of nave.
1030	Milan, S. Sepolcro.
c. 1030	Mazzone, S. Maria di Naula.
c. 1030	Oleggio, S. Michele.
c. 1030	Pavia, S. Stefano. Base of campanile.
c. 1030	Palazzolo, S. Giustina.
c. 1030	Pombia, S. Vincenzo.
1030	Sezzè, S. Giustina.
c. 1030	Spinairano di Cirié.
c. 1030	Verona, S. Zeno. Eastern end of southern side aisle. Earlier panels of bronze doors.
c. 1030	Vicenza, SS. Felice e Fortunato. Lower part of apse, piers now destroyed.
c. 1035	Modena, Cathedral. Foundations of pre-existing basilica.

c. 1035	Stradella.
c. 1035	Susa, Cathedral. Romanesque core, lower part of campanile.
c. 1040	Biella, Battistero.
c. 1040	Calvenzano. Northern absidiole, core of apse and four eastern bays.
c. 1040	Casalino.
c. 1040	Cirié. Campanile.
c. 1040	Novara, Battistero. Vault and cornice.
c. 1040	Novara, Duomo. Campanile and vaults of sacristy.
c. 1040	Piona, S. Nicolò.
1040	Sannazzaro Sesia.
c. 1040	S. Pietro di Civate.
c. 1040	Sommacampagna.
c. 1040	Tavernette, S. Giacomo.
c. 1040	Tortona, S. Maria Canale. Certain capitals.
c. 1041	Ivrea, S. Stefano.
1043	Milan, S. Satiro. Campanile.
c. 1045	Piona, S. Maria.
c. 1045	Pombia, S. Vincenzo. Narthex.
c. 1045	S. Pietro di Civate, S. Benedetto.
1045	S. Zeno, Verona. Lower part of campanile.
c. 1050	Bardolino, S. Severo.
c. 1050	Baveno. Campanile.
c. 1050	Brusasco. Piers.
c. 1050	Lodi Vecchio. Lower parts of nave and choir.
c. 1050	Sannazzaro Sesia. Lower part of campanile.
c. 1050	Sasso.
c. 1050	Varallo Pombia, S. Anna. Campanile.

c. 1050	Viguzzolo.
c. 1055	Curreggio, Battistero.
1060	Mizzole, S. Micheletto.
1065	Verona, S. Fermo Maggiore. Romanesque basilica begun.
1067	Acqui, Cathedral consecrated. Begun c. 1015.
c. 1070	Castel Seprio, S. Giovanni.
c. 1070	Castel Seprio, S. Paolo.
c. 1070	Como, S. Carpoforo. Campanile.
c. 1070	Mongrando, S. Maria del Castello.
c. 1070	Varallo Pombia, S. Anna. Fragments of Romanesque church.
1072	Gravedona, S. Vincenzo.
1073	Verona, S. Trinità. Southern absidiole.
c. 1075	Sannazzaro Sesia. Campanile, upper part.
1075-c. 1093	Milan, S. Nazaro.
c. 1078	Aversa, Cathedral. Northern portal and various fragments.
1078	Cosio.
1080	Fontanella al Monte. Choir begun.
c. 1080	Lenno, S. Stefano. Vaults of crypt.
1083-1095	Badia di Vertemate.
1083	Monastero di Provaglio. Fragment of apse.
1083	S. Benedetto di Lenno.
c. 1085	Campo di Lenno.
c. 1085	Lenno, Battistero.
c. 1085	Oggiono, Battistero.
c. 1090	Casale, Campanile.
1090	Fontanella al Monte. Choir consecrated.
c. 1090	Monastero di Capo di Ponte.
c. 1090	Reggio Emilia, Duomo. Mosaic.

1091	Asti, S. Anastasio. Part of crypt, plan and capitals of upper church.
1092	Monteveglio, S. Maria. Fragments of crypt and northern absidiole.
c. 1095	Bellagio, S. Giacomo.
c. 1095	Bologna, S. Pietro.
c. 1095	Calvenzano. Capitals in sacristy, western bays, sculptures of west portal.
1095	Como, S. Abondio. Church consecrated.
c. 1095	Corneto, S. Giacomo.
c. 1095	Galliano, S. Vincenzo. Pulpit.
c. 1095	Isola Comacina, S. Eufemia.
1095	Milan, Chiesa d'Aurona. Fragments, Group D.
c. 1095	Ossuccio di Spurano, S. Giacomo.
c. 1095	Pontida. Fragments of tomb of S. Alberto.
1097	Verona, Cathedral, S. Maria Matricolare.
1099-1106	Modena, Cathedral. Façade sculptures; Porta della Pescheria and crypt, both subsequently altered.
c. 1099	Rivolta d'Adda.
1099	S. Benedetto di Portesana.
c. 1100	Abbazia di Sesto Calende, S. Donato. Nave, choir and campanile.
c. 1100	Almenno S. Bartolomeo. Pilfered capitals and bases.
c. 1100	Acquanegra. Mosaic pavement.
c. 1100	Bologna, S. Pietro. Parts of sarcophagi of S. Agricola and S. Vitale.
c. 1100	Castelnuovo Scrivia. Certain capitals.
c. 1100	Cirié. Southern absidiole and arch of main arcade.
c. 1100	Como, S. Margherita. Portal in museum.
c. 1100	Mariano, Battistero. Capitals.

1100	Milan, S. Sepolcro. Transept-ends.
c. 1100	Monchio, S. Giulia.
c. 1100	Pieve Terzagni. Mosaic.
c. 1100	Renno.
c. 1100	S. Alberto di Pizzocorno.
c. 1100	Sagra S. Michele, Cappella del Cimitero.
c. 1100	Verona, SS. Apostoli. Campanile.
1101-1106	Borgo S. Donnino. Lunette of northern portal, Simon and Berta.
1101	Nonantola, S. Michele.
1102	Abbazia di Sesto Calende, S. Vincenzo.
1104	Roffeno-Musiolo.
c. 1105	Brescia, Duomo Vecchio.
c. 1105	Castellarano. Crypt.
c. 1105	Como, S. Giacomo.
c. 1105	Corneto Tarquinia, Annunziata.
c. 1105	Ivrea, Cathedral. Mosaic, cloisters, western part of crypt, side aisles of choir.
c. 1105	Loppia di Bellagio. Campanile.
c. 1105	Torino, S. Salutore. Mosaic.
1106-c. 1165	Modena, Cathedral. Nave.
c. 1106	Padova, S. Sofia. Parts of eastern half of edifice.
1107	Casale Monferrato. Nave.
1107-1117	Cremona, Cathedral. Mosaic of Campo Santo, sculptures of Guglielmo, nave and choir to about level of triforium.
1107	Piacenza, S. Savino. Church consecrated.
1108	Pieve Trebbio.
c. 1110	Aosta, Cathedral. Ambulatory (?), mosaic, western part of crypt.
c. 1110	Cemmo.
c. 1110	Frassinoro. Fragments of crypt.

c. 1110	Reggio Emilia, S. Tommaso. Pavement.
c. 1110	S. Vitale delle Carpinete.
c. 1110	Verona, S. Lorenzo.
c. 1110	Verona, S. Procolo.
c. 1110	Villa d'Ossola, S. Bartolomeo.
c. 1112	Milan, S. Nazaro. Cupola.
1112	Milan, S. Stefano. Respond of ancient atrium.
1114	Quarantoli. Sculptures.
c. 1115	Bellagio, S. Giacomo. Ambo sculptures.
c. 1115	Como, S. Fedele.
c. 1115	Corneto Tarquinia, S. Giovanni. North-eastern chapel.
c. 1115	Lodi, Cathedral. Sculptures of Last Supper and ecclesiastics brought from Lodi Vecchio.
c. 1115	Mantova, S. Lorenzo.
c. 1115	Priocca.
c. 1115	Vaprio d'Adda.
1117	Carpineti, S. Andrea.
1117-1122	Castell'Arquato. Pieve.
1117	S. Pietro di Legnano.
c. 1117	Parma, Cathedral. Transept piers and crypt.
1117	Verona, S. Trinità. Narthex.
c. 1120	Almenno S. Salvatore, S. Giorgio.
c. 1120	Arsago, S. Vittore.
c. 1120	Brescia, S. Maria del Solario.
c. 1120	Garbagnate Monastero.
1120	Isola della Scala, Chiesolina della Bastia.
c. 1120	Isola S. Giulio. Church and ambo.
c. 1120	Maderno.
c. 1120	Mignano.

c. 1120	Milan, S. Babila.
c. 1120	Milan, S. Eustorgio. Parts of four eastern bays of nave.
c. 1120	Modena, Cathedral. Porta dei Principi.
c. 1120	Monte S. Martino, S. Martino in Culmine.
c. 1120	Pavia, S. Giovanni in Borgo.
c. 1120	Pavia, S. Stefano. Remains of Lombard church.
c. 1120	Portocomaro.
c. 1120	Sagra S. Michele. Porta dello Zodiaco.
c. 1120	Verona, S. Stefano. Façade, cupola and exterior of ambulatory.
1120	Verona, S. Zeno. Campanile above podium.
c. 1120	S. Zaccaria di Rocca Susella. Eastern portions.
1121	Corneto Tarquinia. S. Maria di Castello begun.
1121 f.	Nonantola. Western portal, southern side-aisle wall, western bays of northern side aisle, piers of nave and crypt vaults.
1122-1132	Piacenza, Cathedral. Interior of choir, transepts, crossing up to triforium level, façade sculptures.
c. 1123	Padova, S. Sofia. Parts of western half of edifice.
1123	Verona, S. Giovanni in Fonte.
c. 1125	Agrate Conturbia, Battistero.
c. 1125	Novara, Duomo. Mosaic and destroyed cathedral.
c. 1125	S. Fermo di Sopra.
c. 1125	Sasso. Sculptures.
1129	Bonate di Sotto. S. Giulia.

1129-1141	Cremona, Cathedral. Upper portions except vaults, sculptures of north transept.
1129	Milan, S. Giorgio in Palazzo.
c. 1129	Pavia, S. Maria in Betlem.
c. 1130	Abbazia di Sesto Calende, S. Donato. Narthex.
c. 1130	Almenno S. Salvatore, Madonna del Castello. Ambo and vaults.
c. 1130	Arsago, Battistero.
c. 1130	Bedero Valtrovaglia, S. Vittore.
c. 1130	Brusasco. Eastern portions.
c. 1130	Castelletto d'Orba.
c. 1130	Cascina S. Trinità.
c. 1130	Cavana. Narthex.
c. 1130	Fontanella al Monte. Nave.
c. 1130	Marne, S. Bartolomeo.
c. 1130	Mergozzo, S. Marta.
c. 1130	Monastero di Provaglio. Campanile and eastern bays of northern side aisle.
c. 1130	Montefiascone, S. Flaviano.
c. 1130	Pallanza, S. Remigio.
c. 1130-1150	Parma, Cathedral. Body of edifice up to vaulting capitals.
c. 1130	Pavia, S. Maria del Popolo.
c. 1130	Pavia, SS. Primo e Feliciano.
c. 1130	Pieve di Novi Ligure.
c. 1130	Rubbiano.
1132	Pavia, S. Pietro in Ciel d'Oro. Church consecrated.
1133	Aosta, S. Orso. Cloister.
1134-1136	Abbazia di Albino. Choir.
1134-1160	Aversa, Cathedral. Ambulatory.
c. 1135	Baveno, SS. Gervasio e Protasio.

c. 1135	Baveno, Battistero.
c. 1135	Bologna, S. Sepolcro. Cubic capitals.
c. 1135	Bologna, S. Stefano. Lower gallery of cloister.
c. 1135	Borgo S. Donnino. North and south portals and fifth respond from west of southern side aisle.
1135	Chiaravalle begun.
1135	Ferrara. Sculptures and lower part of west façade.
c. 1135	Gravedona, S. Maria del Tiglio.
c. 1135	Milan, S. Eustorgio. Parts of four western bays of nave.
c. 1135	Pavia, S. Teodoro.
c. 1135-c. 1150	Piacenza, Cathedral. Side aisles and nave up to triforium level.
c. 1135	S. Pancrazio.
c. 1135	Tiglieto, S. Maria.
c. 1135	S. Zeno di Castelletto.
c. 1136	Pavia, S. Lanfranco.
c. 1137	Pavia, S. Lanfranco. Campanile.
1137	Bergamo, S. Maria Maggiore. Choir and transepts in part.
1137	Verona, S. Fermo Maggiore. Romanesque basilica consecrated.
1138	Verona, S. Zeno. Façade with sculptures, later panels of bronze doors.
1139	Milan, Chiesa Rossa.
1139-c. 1153	Verona, Cathedral. Portals.
c. 1140	Almenno S. Bartolomeo. Core of edifice.
c. 1140	Calvenzano. Buttresses and cornice of central apse and cornice of west bay, north clearstory.
c. 1140	Casale. Mosaics.

c. 1140	Cavagnolo.
c. 1140	Cerreto begun.
c. 1140	Isola Comacina, SS. Faustino e Giovita.
c. 1140	Milan, S. Babila. Cupola.
c. 1140	Montechiaro d'Asti, S. Nazario.
c. 1140	Pessano di Bollengo.
c. 1140	Rocca S. Maria.
c. 1140	S. Ilario di Baganza. Central bay and sculptures.
c. 1140	S. Zaccaria di Rocca Susella. Western portions.
c. 1140	Rosignano Monferrato.
c. 1140	Tronzano, S. Pietro.
1140	Verona, S. Elena.
1142	Abbazia di Albino. Nave consecrated.
c. 1142	Bologna, S. Croce and Atrio di Pilato.
1143	Porcile, Madonna della Strà.
c. 1145	Chiaravalle della Colomba begun.
c. 1145	Como, S. Carpoforo. Choir.
c. 1145	Dongo. Nave.
c. 1145	Gallarate, S. Pietro.
c. 1145	Mont' Orfano.
c. 1145	Montechiarugolo, S. Felicola. Church.
c. 1145	Montemagno, S. Vittore.
c. 1145	Panico.
1148	Reggio Emilia, S. Prospero. Mosaics.
1148	Vercelli, S. Maria Maggiore.
1148	Villanova. Lower part of campanile.
c. 1150	Bologna, Confessi. Fragments.
c. 1150	Casale. Narthex.
c. 1150	Cortazzone d'Asti.
c. 1150	Marentino.

c. 1150	Milan, S. Simpliciano. Romanesque fragments in apse, cupola and transepts.
c. 1150	Montafia. Apse.
c. 1150	Montiglio, S. Lorenzo.
c. 1150	Muceno, Madonna del Marzo.
c. 1150	Pavia, S. Eusebio. Vaults of crypt.
c. 1150-c. 1165	Piacenza, Cathedral. Coating of apse.
c. 1150	S. Michele di Castelvetro.
c. 1150-c. 1160	Verona, S. Zeno. Eastern bays of nave.
1151	Aosta, S. Orso. Campanile.
1151	S. Benedetto Po. Mosaic of Oratorio di S. Martino.
1154	Santhià. Crypt.
1154	Vicenza, SS. Felice e Fortunato. Upper part of apse.
c. 1155	Castell'Alfero.
1157	Pavia, S. Lazaro.
c. 1160	Asti, S. Pietro.
c. 1160	Bologna, S. Sepolcro.
c. 1160	Brescia, S. Salvatore. Western portion of crypt.
c. 1160	Corneto, S. Pancrazio.
c. 1160	Denzano. Apse.
c. 1160	Pianezza, S. Pietro.
c. 1160	S. Giorgio di Valpolicella. Cloister and belfry of campanile.
1160	Vicenza, SS. Felice e Fortunato. Campanile.
1162	Parma, Cathedral. Vaults.
1164	Vercelli, S. Bernardo.
1164	Verona, S. Giovanni in Valle.
c. 1165-1185	Corneto, S. Francesco.

c. 1165	Corneto, S. Giovanni. Central chapel, north side.
c. 1165-1175	Piacenza, Cathedral. Exterior ornament and galleries, flanks of nave.
c. 1165	Tortona, S. Maria Canale.
1167	Cremona, Battistero.
1167-1184	Modena, Cathedral. Campanile, subsequently altered.
1167	Villanova. Existing church.
c. 1170	Bologna, S. Sepolcro. Sculptures of ambo.
1171	Milan, S. Simpliciano. Western portal and responds of narthex.
1171	Piacenza, S. Antonino. Northern portal and sculptures.
c. 1175-c. 1200	Sagra S. Michele. Apse and eastern portions of nave.
c. 1175	Serravalle, Battistero.
c. 1175-c. 1200	Verona, S. Zeno. Cloister, clearstory of nave, font, rose-window.
1176	Viboldone. Choir.
1177	Ferrara. Flanks.
1178	Parma, Cathedral. Sculpture of Deposition.
1178	S. Ruffillo di Bologna, S. Vittore. Church consecrated. In construction **1164.**
1178	Verona, S. Zeno. Upper belfry of campanile.
1179	Piacenza, S. Antonino. Central tower.
1179	Vicenza, SS. Felice e Fortunato. Upper part of apse.
c. 1180	Almenno S. Bartolomeo. Choir.
c. 1180	Bologna, S. Stefano. Upper gallery of cloister.
c. 1180	Casorso.

c. 1180	Frassinoro. Fragments of cloisters.
c. 1180	Lodi. Western portal.
1180	Rivalta Serivia begun.
c. 1180	S. Ruffillo di Bologna, S. Vittore. Cloisters.
c. 1180	Vezzolano. West gallery of cloister.
c. 1180	Viarigi, S. Marziano.
c. 1180	Voltorre. North gallery of cloister.
1183	Castelnuovo Serivia. Portal, certain capitals, etc.
1184-1196	Borgo S. Donnino. Façade and sculptures of Benedetto.
1184	Carpi.
c. 1185	Albugnano, S. Pietro al Cimitero.
c. 1185	Castell'Arquato. Sculptures of portal and ambo.
c. 1185	Milan, S. Eustorgio. Vaults and parts of nave.
1185	Monteveglio, S. Maria.
c. 1185	Parma, Cathedral. Zodiac sculptures, area and ambo capitals.
c. 1185-1187-1193	Verona, Cathedral. Apse, etc., and cloisters.
c. 1185	Voghera, Chiesa Rossa.
1186	Morimondo begun.
1187	Bergamo, S. Maria Maggiore. Nave and transepts in part.
1187	Varese, S. Giovanni. Entire building, including font.
1188	Ranverso, S. Antonio.
1189	Vezzolano completed.
c. 1190	Brebbia.
c. 1190	Cremona, Cathedral. Vaults of nave and side aisles.

c. 1190	Crescenzago.
c. 1190	Gazzo Veronese.
c. 1190	Lodi. Remains of Romanesque church.
c. 1190	Verona, S. Trinità. Northern absidiole and apse.
c. 1190	Voltorre. South and east galleries of cloister.
1194	Verona, SS. Apostoli. Apse.
c. 1195	Cremona, S. Lorenzo.
c. 1195	S. Pietro di Civate. Stucco decorations.
c. 1195	Viboldone. Nave.
c. 1195	Voltorre. West gallery of cloister.
1196-**1207**	Borgo S. Donnino. Church, except vaults and some sculptures.
1196	Chiaravalle. Western bays of nave.
1196	Parma, Battistero begun.
c. 1200	Bardone. Fragments of sculpture.
c. 1200	Brusasco. Western bay.
c. 1200	Careno.
c. 1200	Cremona, S. Michele. Choir and apse.
c. 1200	Fornovo Taro. Narthex and sculptures.
c. 1200	Ganaceto. Apses.
c. 1200	Montechiarugolo, S. Felicola. Cloisters.
c. 1200	Roncoscaglia.
c. 1200	Verona, S. Giovanni in Fonte. Font.
c. 1200	Vicofertile.
c. 1210	Bergamo, S. Maria Maggiore. Southern portal.
c. 1220	Berceto.

LOMBARD ARCHITECTURE

VOLUME I

Lombard Architecture

INTRODUCTION

CHAPTER I. BIBLIOGRAPHICAL FOREWORD

Although the bibliography of Lombard architecture is already an exceedingly long one, and increasing so rapidly that within a few years, if the present rate of growth be maintained, it must inevitably reach such proportions that it will be impossible for any one man to cover the entire field, there have been, nevertheless, as a glance at the bibliography at the end of this volume will show, remarkably few attempts at a synthetic analysis of the style. Before the XIX century none at all was made. The scholars of the XVI, XVII and XVIII centuries took little interest in mediæval art for itself, and concerned themselves not at all with questions relating to the development and growth of an architecture considered barbarous and uncouth. When they touched upon the mediæval monuments, it was generally to illustrate some point connected with local history. They treated of them very rarely in an archæological spirit, almost never from the point of view of the history of art. The modern student will refer constantly and with profit to the works of Lupi, Allegranza, Castiglione, Giulini, Campi, Poggiali, Affò and Tatti, but it will be always in search of documentary evidence of some sort—either historical documents or facts, or descriptions of buildings that have been destroyed or ruined by restoration. He will turn their pages in vain seeking for information upon the chronological or artistic development of the architecture of the Middle Ages.

The dim and vague impression of mediæval art with which these earlier antiquarians were fully satisfied seems to have been derived almost entirely from the work of Puricelli upon the monuments of S. Ambrogio at Milan, published in 1645. This book is a production of remarkable erudition, which for depth of learning, soundness of scholarship and penetrating intuition holds a high rank among the historical works, not only of the XVII, but of all centuries. Nevertheless, Puricelli initiated a great misconception destined to lead scholars astray until even our own day. In the church of S. Ambrogio there is still extant the epitaph of the bishop Ansperto, who died in the year 881. This inscription records, among the other good works of the deceased, the construction of an atrium. Puricelli jumped to the erroneous conclusion that the atrium which now stands before the church of S. Ambrogio was the atrium referred to in the epitaph. Until the XIX century, all historians who thought about the question at all,[1] seem to have taken their point of departure from the incorrect premise that the atrium of S. Ambrogio dated from the IX century.

The earliest attempt worthy of the name to form a synthetic conception of the mediæval Italian style was that of Séroux d'Agincourt, who published his history of art in six volumes in 1823. His description of the Romanesque period, it is true, is fundamentally erroneous, and his book is to-day valuable chiefly for tracing the changes which monuments have undergone in the century that has elapsed since its publication. The work nevertheless marks a new era in that it is a conscientious attempt to study mediæval architecture in an historical spirit. In the following year, 1824, the new point of view appeared in Italy in the form of a monograph upon the church of S. Ambrogio by Ferrario. This is the earliest architectural monograph, in the modern sense of the word, to be written upon a Lombard church—the first of a long and notable series.

It was five years later, however, or in 1829, that Lombard architecture began to be studied really in the modern spirit. A

[1] The one exception was Torre (177), who assigned the atrium to the correct date, possibly on the strength of documentary evidence which has now been lost.

competition organized by a learned society of Brescia in 1829 inspired the production of two books of the greatest importance. The first, to which was awarded the prize, was written by the Brescian Cordero, an archæologist who had derived from De Caumont a good sense of architectural style and a scientific method. To him belongs the glory of having been the first to recognize that many edifices which had been believed to date from the VIII and IX centuries were in reality of the XI and XII centuries. This great advance over Séroux d'Agincourt gives him ample claim to forgiveness for many mistakes and lapses of judgment.[2] Moreover, he anticipated Rivoira in holding that Norman architecture was derived from Lombardy.[3]

Cordero's competitors, the brothers Sacchi of Pavia, published a book which, although it failed to win the prize, obtained greater popularity than that of Cordero. Pavia had formerly been the capital of the Lombard kings by whom many of her churches were founded. It was therefore a natural induction that the many mediæval buildings there preserved were the actual edifices erected in the VII and VIII centuries. Although based on this fundamental error, the work of the Sacchi is in detail more conscientious and more exhaustive than that of Cordero, and to-day is still of value, especially for determining the condition of buildings in the early part of the XIX century.

For fifty years the weight of critical opinion inclined strongly to favour the thesis of the Sacchi as against that of Cordero. Whatever was written upon Lombard architecture in this period was pretty apt to be based upon the assumption that the churches of Pavia dated from the VIII century, and S. Ambrogio of Milan from the IX century. Little progress was made in the synthetic analysis of the style, although as early as 1856 Clericetti anticipated the two principal theses of Rivoira, *i.e.,* first that the churches of Ravenna are earlier than the churches of Constantinople and hence prototypes, rather than

[2] For example, he assigns the tomb of Theodoric at Ravenna, S. Giovanni of Florence, S. Frediano and S. Michele of Lucca, all to the same epoch (13). See also the long discussion of Arab architecture and its influence in the West.

[3] 157.

derivatives, of the Byzantine monuments; and, secondly, that the Lombard style was introduced into northern Europe through the constructions of S. Guglielmo at Dijon. Clericetti seems to have had singularly little sympathy for the Lombard style which he calls *"l'arte più goffa e ridicola uscita dalle mani dell'uomo"*; nevertheless, notwithstanding numerous errors, he studied the style with critical acumen, and compiled the first list of Lombard monuments, embracing in all some thirty-one buildings.

From 1856 to 1882 was published the great work of De Dartein, illustrating the Lombard monuments by means of a folio volume of text and an atlas in great folio with superbly engraved plates. De Dartein's drawings were, and are, and probably always will be, the *nec plus ultra* of measured drawings. So conscientiously are they made, that in them may be traced all the irregularities and asymmetries discovered by Professor Goodyear, although the idea of mediæval refinements was entirely unknown to De Dartein at the time the drawings were executed. In the measurements I have taken in Lombard churches I have had occasion time and again to verify the drawings of De Dartein, and I have invariably found them of unimpeachable accuracy. Unfortunately the text of the work is far from being so remarkable as the atlas. Gifted with a personality of peculiar charm, De Dartein seems to have made a social conquest of the leading archæologists of northern Italy. From these friends he gathered all the information they were able to give him, and transcribed it in his text with the same phenomenal exactitude with which he transcribed measurements in his drawings. The value of the text, therefore, depends very largely upon the value of the informant from whom any particular part is derived, for De Dartein does not appear to have contributed much that was new nor original in regard to documentary evidence or synthetic analysis. Most of his informants, like Landriani and Barelli, belonged to the Puricelli-Sacchi school. Through the work of De Dartein, therefore, since this book acquired a reputation even in excess of its merits, the question of the chronology of Lombard architecture became only more perplexing and confused.

In 1888, however, appeared the work of Raffaele Cattaneo, one of the most brilliant achievements ever produced in the realm of artistic criticism, and worthy to rank beside the productions of Morelli. Written by a young man still in his twenties, abounding in errors and inexactitudes of detail, this book nevertheless by a few sharp, incisive strokes, at once destroyed the work of the critics who had been building for centuries upon false foundations. It was natural, however, that the archæologists who saw their laboriously erected theories brought crashing about their heads by one blow of genius, should turn all their weapons of polemic and enmity against the young man who had the presumptuous daring to see the truth. Cattaneo's early death offered the opportunity to men like Luca Beltrami to do, without fear of reprisal, what they could to attack the young archæologist's reputation. For a moment it seemed as if the reactionaries might carry the day; but the dead iconoclast found a supporter in Rivoira, who reiterated with emphasis and far more profound scholarship, the great thesis of Cattaneo.

Rivoira greatly enlarged the outlook upon Lombard architecture, calling attention to numerous monuments until his day unknown. Only one who has had long experience with the inaccessibility of Lombard churches can appreciate the patience and enthusiasm which must have been required to write this work at a time when automobiles were still unknown. The difficulties under which the author laboured were, moreover, increased by the fact that his book treated only in part of Lombard architecture, being concerned as well with the origins of the Lombard style in the Byzantine and Roman periods, and the influence of the Lombard style upon the architecture of northern Europe. The latter question, one of absorbing interest, can only be discussed intelligently when the chronological development of the architecture of northern Italy and that of northern Europe as well have been accurately determined. Unfortunately, at the time Rivoira wrote, this had been done only for the very small territory comprised in the Ile-de-France. Nor can Rivoira's own efforts to establish the chronology of the Lombard style be considered successful. Since the publication of his book as before, the most

divergent and contradictory opinions have continued to be expressed upon the question. While Venturi and the best of the younger generation of archæologists, such as Monneret de Villard, Testi and Biscaro, have in the main followed Rivoira, Beltrami has still continued to protest that S. Ambrogio dates from the IX century, and Sant'Ambrogio, Enlart and Toschi to go to the other extreme, assigning monuments of the XI and XII centuries to the XIII century.

A definitive synthetic analysis of Lombard architecture, therefore, remains to be made, and it is this which—I hope not presumptuously—I have undertaken. So far as I am aware, no other Romanesque style offers so great a wealth of surely dated monuments. Many of these monuments have hitherto never been described, and of numerous others the documents establishing their dates have either never been published, or have been to be found only in local histories inaccessible in the principal libraries even of Italy. It has been my purpose to bring together a description of as many of the Lombard monuments as I was able—I am well aware that many have escaped me—together with the documents bearing upon their architectural history. From a comparison of the documents and the architectural style, it has been possible to date with precision and with certainty a large number of monuments. These are the ones of which the dates are printed in heavier type in the chronological chart which precedes this volume. The documentary evidence may be found in each case by reference to the list of monuments in the second and third volumes. These monuments of authenticated date were sufficiently numerous to leave no doubt in regard to the chronological development of the style, and it soon became evident that it was possible to determine the date of a monument for which no documents were extant merely by an inspection of its architectural style and a careful comparison with monuments the date of which had already been determined. In the chronological chart monuments to which dates have been assigned thus, merely on internal evidence, are printed with dates in lighter type. That this method of assigning dates may be relied upon with entire confidence, I have proved to my own satisfaction in several cases

where, after I had assigned a monument to a given date on its style, documentary evidence establishing the time of construction subsequently came to light. In no instance was the date as determined by the documents separated by more than five years from the date which I had previously determined upon internal evidence alone.

Taking together the monuments of authenticated date and those to which dates may be assigned, by the comparative method, we have, as a glance at the chronological chart will show, a splendid series of monuments amply sufficient to determine, even to small details, the history of the Lombard style during the XI and XII centuries. Monuments previous to the year 1000 are, it is true, more scarce and also less well preserved; but yet there are quite enough to give a clear idea of the development of the style until as far back as the VIII century.

A synthetic analysis of the style, based upon these monuments, breaks many cherished illusions. I have myself been obliged to abandon favourite theories one after another. In archæological work, the temptation to make facts fit the theory is so great that it costs a real struggle to follow the contrary process. It is a trite saying, however, that the truth is stranger than fiction; and from the ruins of shattered misconceptions the Lombard style emerges, it seems to me, more interesting, more worthy of study and certainly more beautiful.

CHAPTER II. MASTER-BUILDERS

Before beginning the study of Lombard buildings, it will be well to form some idea of the corporation of masons by whom the construction was executed, and the more so because several fantastic theories, founded principally upon conjecture, have led to the belief that the district of Como was the centre from which radiated architectural influences during the Romanesque period.

The facts are so few and simple that it is amazing they should have been able to inspire such long flights of imagination. It is certain that in Roman times the building trades were closely organized into a body which, whether or not it technically formed a *collegium,* nevertheless offers so many analogies to the mediæval corporation of the masons that there is no doubt that the latter must have been more or less directly derived from its classical prototype.[1] In Roman times the head builder was called generally *architectus,* but sometimes also *magister.*[2]

The barbarians swept down into Italy, and the question arises, what happened to the building trades? Since the Lombards possessed no architecture of their own, it is almost certain that they were dependent upon the conquered Romans for what building was done. Beyond this inference we know but little, since the monuments are silent, and the documents ambiguous. Isidore of Seville, a Spaniard, who wrote in the early part of the VII century, treated at length of the art of architecture. It is evident, however, that his work is little but a compilation of earlier authors, and that he possessed slight practical knowledge of building as performed in his own time.[3] He apparently did

[1] On this question see especially the admirable study of Carlo Promis; Choisy, *Byzantins,* 176; Orlando, and Venturi, II, 116-122.

[2] See the study of Promis cited above.

[3] See the *Etymologiarum,* XV, Cap. 2 f., 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12; XVI, Cap. 5; XVIII, 28 f., 42 f.; XIX, 9, 10, 11, 13, 17, 18, 19, ed. Migne, *Pat. Lat.,* LXXXII, 536 f. Isidore

not know the word *magister* as applied to a head builder, since he gives to the term merely the general definition of "higher in station."[4]

The Lombard king Rotari (636-652) promulgated a set of laws in favour of the builders.[5] It seems clear that the object was to offer special protection to the building trade. This document is famous chiefly because the term *magistri comacini* is used to denote the builders. The expression is, perhaps, no more obscure than many others in the exceedingly difficult document, but it has given rise to much discussion. While Pertz tried to derive *comacini* from *macina,* meaning a sort of scaffolding,[6] other authorities were convinced that the word was the same that has survived to our own day in the proper name *Isola Comacina,* and that it was an adjective meaning "of Como." It is known that the Isola Comacina, the only island in the lake

speaks at length of types of buildings which certainly were not erected in his time, such as, for example, the gymnasium, the curia, the prætorium, the capitolium, the circus, the theatre, the amphitheatre, baths, etc. He also discusses marbles which could not have been in use in Spain in the VII century. In speaking of sacred buildings, however, he enumerates *oratorium, monasterium, cœnobium, fons, basilica, pulpitum,* etc., and shows information which it is improbable he could have derived from any previous author. His knowledge of the building customs of his own time must therefore have entered, at least to a certain extent, into his work.

[4] Magister, major in statione, nam στερρὸν Graece *statio* dicitur. (*Etymologiarum,* X, 171, ed. Migne, *Pat. Lat.,* LXXXII, 385). The word *architectus* is used in the *Sanctorum Nazzarii et Celsi Martyrum Passio,* ed. Mombrizio, ed. 1910, II, 327. Indeed, the term continued in use occasionally throughout the Middle Ages. Thus it appears about the middle of the XI century in the *Itinerarium Leonis* (Abbé Poussin, *Monographie de l'Abbaye et de l'Église de St.-Remi de Reims.* Reims, Lemoin-Canart, 1857, p. 105); in another document of the XI century cited below, Vol. III, p. 84, in connection with S. Michele of Nonantola; in Salimbene (ad annum 1250, ed. Parma, 1857, p. 169), and in numerous other documents which might be mentioned. In the *Relatio Translationis Corporis Sancti Geminiani,* which dates from the XII century, the word *architector* is used (see citation below, Vol. III, p. 14), and also in the miniatures with which the codex is illustrated (Plate 141, Fig. 3). The fact seems to be that the term *magister* was the one in common use during the Middle Ages. *Architectus* was the bookish word affected by writers who had come in contact either directly or indirectly with the classics. *Magister,* like its English derivative, *master,* might of course denote many other things besides a master-builder. In mediæval trade corporations it was regularly used to denote the highest of the three grades of members, the lower ones being those of the apprentices and labourers.

[5] Published by Muratori, R. I. S., I, pt. 2, 25.

[6] M. G. H., *Leges,* IV, 176. If one were obliged to find an explanation of the term, I should be inclined to suggest that it might be a corruption of *collegini,* meaning members of a *collegium.* Cf. *collega,* often used in the laws.

of Como, was frequently the last resort of refugees in the time of invasion. By an easy flight of fancy, therefore, it was conjectured that there all the masons from the entire Roman world had taken refuge from the Lombards. Protected by the barbarian kings, it was imagined that they soon formed themselves into a secret corporation, and that for long centuries Como continued to be the centre from which all Italy, nay, all Europe, derived its builders and masons. All this is founded solely upon the exceedingly doubtful etymology of the word *comacini*. Merzario, in a work of two volumes, has sought to prove from documents that all mediæval builders of Italy came from the region of Como. Had he searched with the same diligence for texts recording master-builders who originated elsewhere, he would have arrived at the truth, demonstrable from the documents cited in the second and third volumes of the present work, namely, that the birthplace of most mediæval master-builders is unknown; that some came from the province of Como, and many from elsewhere. From these facts to argue that Como was the sole, or even the chief home of the corporation of master-builders, is as illogical as it would be to argue from the fact that certain learned men have been Bostonians, that scholarship is the exclusive monopoly of Boston.

The myth of the *magistri comacini*, however, has such an imaginative appeal that it has seduced even sober scholars like Muratori, Troya and Rivoira. Conjecture has been pushed to the most grotesque limits. Not only has the mediæval corporation been connected, on the one hand, with the freemasons of our own time,—this much may readily enough be granted,—but, on the other, it has been gravely asserted to have originated with the builders of the temple of Solomon. And all this airy fabric, this glorious history embracing over two thousand years, rests solely upon a piece of doubtful etymology![7]

Little additional light is thrown by a second set of laws usually attributed to Luitprando.[8] Again the masons are denoted

[7] See the work of Ravenscroft.

[8] *Grimoaldi sive Liutprandi Memoratorum de Mercedibus Commacinorum*, ed. Pertz, M. G. H., *Leges*, IV, 176 f.

by the term *magistri comacini.*[9] Again the builders seem to have been the object of royal favour. That even in the VIII century the *magistri comacini* had little to do with Como, is proved by a document of December, 739, in which it is recorded that one of them sold a house and vineyard in Toscanella.[10] After the Carlovingian conquest we hear no more of *magistri comacini.* Even as early as 755, the term *magister marmorarius* seems to have been substituted,[11] and in 805 we hear of a *magister casarius.*[12]

In later times the valley of Antelami, in the Apennines, came to be renowned for its carpenters.[13] In the laws of Genoa, the term *magistri antelami* is the regular term used to indicate builders, not only of timber edifices, but of those of stone as well.[14] The word *antelamus,* without the *magister,* is joined to the signature of the sculptor Benedetto in his relief of the Deposition in the Cathedral of Parma. A misunderstanding of the inscription has caused Benedetto to be given the nickname of Antelami by which he is still generally known. Numerous other words, such as *ædificator* and *artifex,* were used to indicate builders during the Middle Ages, but they throw little light upon the organization of the corporation.

In fact, the whole subject of the mediæval building trades is singularly obscure.[15] In many cases, mastership seems to have been hereditary, and to have passed down from father to son.[16] It is certain that the builders were nomads who moved from place

[9] In the *Glossarium Cavense et Vaticanum,* 140, *ibid.,* 656, it is explained: Magister Commacinus. Id est fabricatores.

[10] Troya, III, 672. [11] Troya, IV, 556. [12] Merzario, I, 77.

[13] Omnes carpentarios illos, quos [S. Pietro in Ciel d'Oro] . . . dinoscitur . . . possedisse in valle quae dicitur Antelamo. . . . (*Hist. Pat. Mon.,* XIII, 903).

[14] Lopez, 80.

[15] See Anonymi Ticinensis, *De Laudibus Papiae,* XIII, ed. Muratori, R. I. S., XI, 26.

[16] Giovanni di Ugone, accompanied by his son, Nicolino, worked upon the southern portal of S. Maria at Bergamo. The northern portal is the work of another son, Giovanni. In a contract of 1244 it appears that Anselmo, Ottacio and Enrico were successively master-builders in the cathedral of Modena, son succeeding father. The Enrico who sculptured the ambo a century later was doubtless a descendant of the first Enrico. It would be easy to multiply examples of sons who followed their fathers in the calling of master-builder during the later Middle Ages. The case was no doubt the same very frequently during the Romanesque period, but documents to

to place when opportunity for work presented itself. The proofs of this are so numerous that it would be tedious to take them up in detail, since a long series of inscriptions and documents record that master-builders from one place worked upon some building in another town, or how builders were summoned by the citizens or by the clergy when occasion for building arose. Yet in the case of large edifices, the construction of which occupied many years, or to maintain which in repair required the constant presence of a master-builder, the builders frequently settled down for a long period of time. The same family of builders resided at Modena for at least five generations. Brioloto owned a house at Verona in which he lived, and the complicated property relations which existed between him and the abbey of S. Zeno make it evident that he did not contemplate the possibility of moving away from Verona.[17]

The artists of Lombardy were more fond than those of most other countries of signing their productions, and from the XI century onward we know the names of a considerable number of builders and sculptors.[18] Thus, Giuliano signed a capital in the Chiesa d'Aurona of Milan about 1095; somewhat earlier Adamo had signed a capital of the narthex of S. Ambrogio at Milan. The construction of the cathedral of Modena by Lanfranco was recorded in an inscription of which we have a later copy. Another Lanfranco signed a capital in the cloister at Voltorre. Guglielmo signed his sculptures at Modena, and Nicolò signed his at Sagra S. Michele, in the cathedrals of Ferrara and Verona and at S. Zeno. Other sculptures at S. Zeno are signed by another Guglielmo. Martino erected the campanile of S. Zeno in 1178; Bricio of Verona rebuilt the choir of SS. Felice e Fortunato at Vicenza in 1179; Adamo di S.

prove it are lacking. It may, however, be conjectured that the Guglielmo who worked with Nicolò on the portal of S. Zeno of Verona was the son of Nicolò, and the grandson of Guglielmo da Modena. On the other hand, it is certain that Ognibene, the son of the Veronese master-builder, Brioloto, was not a master-builder. (Simeoni, *Brioloto*).

[17] Brioloto took his pay at least partially in property rights and indirect financial help.

[18] In the VIII century Magister Ursus and two pupils signed the ciborio of S. Giorgio di Valpolicella (see Vol. III, p. 364); in the IX century the archdeacon Pacifico worked upon several churches of Verona (see Vol. III, p. 468).

Giorgio signed a capital of the crypt at S. Zeno of Verona, and Brioloto recorded by an inscription his work in the same basilica. Alberto placed his name upon the portal of Castelnuovo Scrivia in 1183, and Pellegrino signed his ciborio for the cathedral of Verona. Finally, Benedetto signed his relief of the Deposition in the cathedral of Parma and the baptistery in the same city.

These names, however, tell us little of the inner workings of the corporations. More is indicated by the series of miniatures which adorn the codex of the *Relatio Translationis Sancti Geminiani* in the archives of the chapter of Modena (Plate 141, Fig. 3, 4). Here we have four scenes connected with the reconstruction of the cathedral of Modena 1099-1106. Since the miniatures were executed not more than a hundred years after the event, they form a reliable source for the study of the building trades in the XII century. One fact emerges clearly, and that is, the dignity of the master-builder, Lanfranco. He is distinguished from the men under him by his dress, which is evidently of superior quality and falls to his ankles, while the workmen have skirts which reach only to their knees.[19] Lanfranco has, moreover, a skullcap with a tassel, quite different from anything worn by his subordinates, and he holds in his hand a club or a sceptre which seems to be a badge of authority. In the first two miniatures (Plate 141, Fig. 3) he is shown standing apart from his men, and directing their efforts without participating in the manual labour. In the last relief (Plate 141, Fig. 4) he is shown as present at the invention of the body of the saint, standing beside the countess Matilda and near the bishops of Reggio and Modena. It therefore appears that the master-builder was an exceedingly important personage, who enjoyed a social position far superior to that of the ordinary workman. Nor are we led to this conclusion only by the case of Lanfranco. Brioloto of Verona had debts to the extent of a hundred lire, a sum large enough to indicate that he was a man of considerable property. The dowries of his daughter-in-law (one hundred and forty lire), and of his wife, were large for a borghese. The grandiloquent

[19] In the scene of the festival (Plate 141, Fig. 4) the subordinates also wear long robes, doubtless in honour of the occasion.

boasts attached to the signatures of Lanfranco da Modena[20] and Nicolò[21] would not have been permitted in a public monument had not the artists, to a singular degree, enjoyed the admiration and respect of their contemporaries.

In the Modena miniatures the subordinates of Lanfranco are labelled as belonging to two classes, the *operarii,* or labourers, who did the roughest sort of work, such as digging the ground for the foundations, and bringing baskets of brick, and the *artifices,*[22] or more skilled labourers, who are represented as laying the bricks in the walls.[23] In an interesting relief of S. Ilario di Baganza (Plate 199, Fig. 1) are shown two *operarii* carrying a pail, presumably filled with mortar, from a rod suspended over their shoulders. The important reliefs of the northern portal of S. Maria Maggiore of Bergamo, although later—they date from 1403—throw much light upon the corporation of the master-builders.[24] The head master-builder, *scultoretus,* is seen drawing with his compass and directing three assistants. Of these, the first, *grechus,* blocks out a capital from the stone. The second, *aristatius,* holds a capital inverted before him and carves it roughly with hammer and chisel. The third, *pischomastius,* puts the finishing touches upon a capital after it has been placed in position. Three other reliefs elsewhere show an *aristatius* carving an inverted capital held before him. One is in the bronze doors of S. Zeno of Verona (Plate 234, Fig. 1);[25] the second is on a string-course of the same basilica; the third is in the Porta dei Principi at Modena (Plate 142, Fig. 4). It is therefore evident that capitals were finished except for the last touches before they were placed in the building.[26] An interesting proof that this method of work was followed is afforded by the

[20] See Vol. III, p. 15. [21] See Vol. II, p. 419; Vol. III, pp. 474, 529.

[22] Rooul Glaber (*De Vita S. Guillelmi Divionensis,* ed. Migne, *Pat. Lat.,* CXLII, 609 f.) speaks of masons as *artifices cæmentarii.*

[23] These *artifices* have a hammer-like instrument with a prong or pick.

[24] It is interesting to compare these sculptures with the well known capital of St. Servatius, Maastricht, of which there is a cast (No. 1536) in the Metropolitan Museum of Art.

[25] It is possible that this builder is merely squaring a block of stone, not carving a capital.

[26] Many capitals of Casale, the atrium of S. Ambrogio and elsewhere still await the finishing touches of the *pischomastius.*

portal of S. Ambrogio at Milan, where pieces intended for one side of the portal have been placed upon the other side, with the result that the signature of the builder was put in upside down. There is no doubt that stone blocks were also dressed before being placed in the building.[27]

At S. Michele of Pavia are reliefs which depict painters at work and four men—doubtless carpenters—hewing a log. These are probably both phases of the activities of the builders. There can be no doubt that the same men were frequently in turn carpenters, builders, sculptors and probably also painters. The sculptor Benedetto was the architect of the baptistery of Parma, and in all probability also of that of Serravalle. Internal evidence makes it clear that at Vezzolano the same artist, who was a Lombard and had travelled in Provence and the Ile-de-France, executed both the architecture and the sculpture. In other cases, however, individual artists seem to have confined themselves either to architecture or to sculpture, according to their genius. In the cathedral of Modena the architecture was intrusted to Lanfranco, while contemporaneously Guglielmo worked exclusively upon the sculptures. Nicolò seems to have confined himself to sculpture. It is probable that in this, as in much else, it is possible to reconstruct a picture of conditions in the Middle Ages from customs which survived into the time of the Renaissance. It will be remembered that in the Tre-, Quattro- and Cinquecento the same man was frequently architect, sculptor and painter, but in other cases a man who had genius for one art above the others, confined himself exclusively to, or at least specialized in, that for which he had particular aptitude.

There is little evidence to show what tools were employed by the master-builders in the XII century. The reliefs and miniatures already described show very simple instruments in use—a hammer and a chisel for carving, and an instrument resembling a short-handled pickax, with one prong flattened into a hammer, for cutting and laying bricks or stones. To the extent of my knowledge there are extant in Lombardy no traces of architectural drawings dating from the Romanesque period.

[27] Malladra e Ranieri, 80; Choisy, *Histoire,* II, 143-144.

Models of an edifice are frequently represented in the hands of founders, as, for example, at S. Zeno of Verona, the cathedral of Acqui, or in the fresco of Galliano now in the Biblioteca Ambrosiana. But this fact does not prove that models were made and used by the builders, since the iconographic tradition may have been carried over from Roman times.

In Lombardy the artists seem to have been given a much freer rein in the choice of their subjects and the details of their representations than in France. It is easy to trace in the works of Guglielmo da Modena the spirit of a man who was not particularly religious, and at times almost irreverent. The sculptor of Bereeto placed on the portal of the church a satire which is little short of blasphemous. In the sculptures of Benedetto, on the other hand, there is clearly shown a mystic and profoundly religious temperament. Nicolò chose his own subjects. The proof of this is that he repeated certain ones of which he seems to have been particularly fond. At Sagra S. Michele and Piacenza he sculptured astronomical subjects which not only are without parallel in the iconography of the period, but display such deep knowledge of the science that we are forced to conclude that Nicolò was particularly versed in this branch of learning. Nicolò was also fond of placing in parallel the two Johns. This iconographic idea, which is peculiar to him, appears in his four principal works, that is to say, Piacenza, Ferrara and the two churches of Verona. At Ferrara and Verona Nicolò places upon the scrolls of his prophets the same peculiar inscriptions taken from a sermon attributed to St. Augustine. These inscriptions, moreover, he had derived from his master, Guglielmo da Modena, who had used them in the cathedral of Cremona. Nicolò often composed himself the verses which he placed upon his sculptures. At Sagra S. Michele he tells us so:

Vos legite versus quos descripsit Nicholaus

Moreover, he repeats exactly the same inscription at Sagra S. Michele and Piacenza. His signature, with slight variations, is given in the same jingle at Ferrara and in the two churches of Verona. Guglielmo da Modena repeated the same subjects in the cathedrals of Modena and Cremona—Enoch and Elijah

in parallel, the story of Genesis. Probably the inscriptions with which the story of Genesis was accompanied were very similar, if not identical, in the two cathedrals.

There is reason to believe that the tradition of asymmetries was preserved by the Lombard builders from the time of Rome until the Renaissance. Owing to the poor condition of the edifices, it is difficult to trace it before the year 1000.[28] Nevertheless, a glance at the plans of S. Giorgio di Valpolicella (Plate 197), S. Satiro of Milan (Plate 129) or of S. Vincenzo of Prato of the same city (Plate 134), will be sufficient to demonstrate that before the year 1000 the barbarity of mechanical exactitude was as studiously avoided as in later times. During the XI and XII centuries, as the technique of building improved, the irregularities came to assume a new and definite character and one peculiar to the Lombard style. Typical of this sort of asymmetry is the use of broken straight lines instead of curves. In measured drawings the irregularities produce a broken-legged, disjointed appearance—see, for example, the plans of S. Ambrogio of Milan (Plate 116) or of S. Michele of Pavia (Plate 172). In the actual construction, however, the asymmetries singularly increase the charm and subtlety of the building. So typical are the irregularities of Lombard buildings, and so different from any that I know of elsewhere, that, I think, were I shown the plan of S. Maria di Castello of Corneto Tarquinia (Plate 73), I should know at once that this building had been built under Lombard influence, even without the other indications afforded by the superstructure.[29]

[28] A proof that Isidore of Seville knew little of practical architecture is probably to be found in the following passage, which seems to show that he had no knowledge of the irregularities that must have been traditional in his time: Denique in fabrica nisi omnia ad perpendiculum, et certam regulam fiant, necesse est, ut cuncta mendosa instruantur, ut aliqua prava sint, aliqua cubantia, prona nonnulla, alia supina, et propter hoc universa ruunt constructa. (*Etymologiarum,* XIX, 18, ed. Migne, *Pat. Lat.,* LXXXII, 680).

[29] The fact that asymmetries exist in mediæval architecture has been so thoroughly demonstrated by Professor Goodyear, that it is unnecessary here to enter into a discussion of the subject, especially since the fact when once pointed out is patent in nearly all mediæval buildings to any one not so blinded by preconceived prejudice as to be incapable of accepting the evidence of his senses. One of the finest examples of intentional asymmetry in Lombardy is afforded by the cloister of Voltorre.

There can be no doubt that at times priests or monks were builders. According to verses published by Mabillon[30] the architect of the church of S. Gallo, consecrated in 835, was the brother Winihardus, and the workmen were all monks. The Veronese, Pacifico, who died in 847, was a deacon, but, according to his epitaph, skilled in works of gold, of silver, of other metals, of wood and of white marble. He restored numerous churches of Verona. In 1264 there were working upon S. Antonio of Padova two master-builders, assisted by several clerics.[31] In 1321 canons, *fratres laborerii,* were working upon the baptistery of Parma. In 1342 two master-builders, who were clerics, signed the southern transept of the cathedral of Cremona. A fresco of S. Francesco of Lodi represents S. Bernardino directing his monks in the construction of a monastery.[32]

These, and many other instances, prove that the duties of a master-builder were at times assumed by a monk or a priest. In the overwhelming majority of instances, however, the master-builder was a layman. He was generally merely employed by the clerics.[33] The case was precisely the same in the time of the Renaissance. Fra Angelico, Fra Filippo Lippi and Fra Diamante were undoubtedly monks. To argue from this fact that all Renaissance painters were monks, would obviously bring us to a conclusion far removed from the truth. Yet this is precisely what has been done by learned archæologists who have concluded, from the fact that certain master-builders were monks, that all monastic architecture was erected under the supervision of a monk master-builder.

In Lombardy it is fortunately possible to prove that monasteries, just like cathedrals, collegiate or parish churches, were, save in exceptional instances, erected by lay master-builders. The cloister of the Cluniac priory of Voltorre was built by the layman Lanfranco. The Benedictine abbey of S.

[30] *Ann. Ben.,* II, 570. [31] Merzario, I, 160. [32] Merzario, I, 161.

[33] In this connection it is interesting to compare a text of Isidore of Seville: Ad præpositum autem pertinet sollicitudo monachorum, actio causarum, cura possessionum, satio agrorum, plantatio et cultura vinearum, diligentia gregum, constructio ædificiorum, opus carpentariorum, sive fabrorum (*Regula Monachorum,* XX, ed. Migne, *Pat. Lat.,* LXXXIII, 389).

Zeno at Verona was completed by the layman Brioloto. The lay sculptors Nicolò and Guglielmo da Verona worked on the same edifice. Nicolò also worked upon the Benedictine abbey at Sagra S. Michele.

Is it necessary to admit that matters were otherwise with one particular monastic order—that is to say, with the Cistercians? The weighty voice of Enlart would have us believe so.[34] When we turn, however, to the volume in which he has gathered together the proofs of this important thesis, which has been so widely accepted, we find that the premises are quite insufficient. *Conversi* of S. Galgano worked upon that abbey and upon the cathedral of Sienna. A *conversus* of the Cistercian abbey of Aduard, in Belgium, was sent to Cîteaux to draw the plan of that church which the monks of Aduard wished to reproduce.[35] Are these few instances a sufficient basis upon which to rest a conclusion which embraces the Cistercian churches of all Christendom?[36] I think not. As regards the Cistercian churches of

[34] *L'Abbaye de San Galgano près Sienne au Treizième Siècle,* in École française de Rome, *Mélanges d'Archéologie et d'Histoire,* XI année, 1891, 201.

[35] Ce document, come ceux qui se réfèrent à San Galgano et à la cathédrale de Sienne, montre que les architectes de l'ordre étaient généralement des frères convers [!!!] (Enlart, 230).

[36] The study of the question is complicated by the fact that Enlart, instead of publishing the important original documents which he held in his hand—as, perhaps, we might have a right to expect—saw fit to give only his own summary of them. In view of the well known ambiguity and difficulty of mediæval phraseology, the suspicion at once arises that the originals might be open to another interpretation than that which the great archæologist has placed upon them. Thus, in a deed of 1240, we find the stipulation that the monks of Fossanova must receive the monks of Valvisciola *ad studium artium.* On the basis of this document Enlart (11) has announced that there was set up at Fossanova a regular school of architecture; but in mediæval Latin the word *artes* is frequently used to mean simply the liberal arts, the trivium and quadrivium, which formed part of the training of all learned persons, and especially of monks. By the phrase in question, therefore, no more is necessarily implied than that the monks of Fossanova maintained a school which the monks of Valvisciola had the right of attending.

Similarly, Enlart tells us that the first four builders of the abbey of S. Galgano were Donnus Joannes (1218-1227), Donnus Petrus (1229), Donnus Simon (1239), D. Ildinus (1271-1273). He implies that these were all monks, but nowhere mentions any documentary evidence that such was the case. The suspicion arises in consequence that Enlart simply jumped to the conclusion that they were monks, and that, in reality, they may have been lay builders. In this case, the greater part of the work of construction upon S. Galgano would have been performed under the direction of men who were not monks. In regard to the *conversi* mentioned in later documents as

Lombardy, the documents happily give us proof of the falsity of Enlart's thesis. If we are to believe Casale,[37] it is true, the first abbey of Lucedio was built by the abbot and the monks. But authentic and contemporary documents which are published in the third volume of this work[38] amply prove that the Cistercian abbey of Morimondo was constructed by lay master-builders and by lay workmen. The truth evidently is that the Cistercian order was, in this respect, little different from the others. If there happened to be a monk able to assume the duties of architect he did so. Otherwise, lay builders were employed.

magister operis lignaminis, magister operis lapidum, or *operarius,* it is entirely doubtful, as Enlart himself has recognized, whether we have to do with master-builders or simply with a monastic officer corresponding to the massaro or superstans of northern churches. (See Milanese, I, 142, 150). Enlart states that all of the six *operarii* mentioned in the documents of S. Galgano were *conversi,* but the documents he cites give the impression that this statement is merely a conjecture of the author, and that of the six, only two are proved by the documents to have been *conversi.* Enlart also cites a now lost inscription of S. Galgano, of no very ancient date, in which it is stated that eighty monks laboured upon the construction of the church. But this inscription, as he himself admits, is contradicted by authentic documents.

In the last analysis, therefore, the evidence brought forward by Enlart amounts to exceedingly little: three *conversi* of the abbey worked upon the cathedral of Sienna; two *conversi* were *operarii* at the abbey after the construction of the latter was well-nigh completed. From these facts to deduce that Cistercian churches were built by monk master-builders is manifestly absurd.

[37] 157. According to Manrique (I, 80) the first abbey of Clairvaux was built by the hands of the monks themselves, but it was a poor and temporary affair.

[38] Pp. 77 f.

CHAPTER III. THE COMMUNES AND THE ECCLESIASTICAL AUTHORITIES

Into the delicate equation of the mediæval church-building there entered, not only the ecclesiastical authorities and the lay master-builder, but the civil powers of the city and sometimes even of the state.

To understand the relationship of the communes and the ecclesiastical authorities in the XI and XII centuries, it is necessary to remember that the commune and the bishop were natural enemies. Until the rise of the communes in the XI century, the bishop had enjoyed many of the prerogatives which the consuls subsequently took to themselves. Before the year 1000 the bishop was the leader of the great borghese class, the temporal, as well as the spiritual, head of the city. The bishop frequently made war and peace, negotiated treaties and concluded alliances; the bishop was also often the supreme general, and in person led the forces of the city to battle. With the rise of the communes all this was changed. The consuls became the official representatives of the borghesi, and the rulers of the city state. The enmity between the bishops and the commune was therefore as natural and as inevitable as was the enmity between the Italian state and the pope in the XIX century. Local conditions, which always vary from place to place in Italy, frequently resulted in smoothing over this underlying hostility, or even in producing a temporary alliance between the two powers. The natural opposition, however, continued to exist, and merely awaited an occasion to be fanned into flame.

It may well be this underlying hostility which explains why the Italians, even in the most fervent moment of the Middle Ages, were never as deeply religious as other nations of Europe. From the earliest times we are conscious in Italy, and especially

in Lombardy, of a something cynical and indifferent in the attitude, not certainly of the majority of the people, but of a considerable minority. The century which produced Francis of Assisi produced, to the extent of my knowledge, in no other country of Europe a writer of such cynicism, of such religious indifference, of such open worldliness, as the Franciscan monk, Fra Salimbene of Parma.

Nevertheless, there can be no doubt that during the XI and XII centuries the vast majority of north Italians were profoundly and deeply religious, and that religion entered very vitally into the lives of the people. A tangible proof that such was the case is the fact that when cities were destroyed in war—as frequently happened—the churches were always scrupulously spared. When the Comaschi failed to observe this rule in the destruction of Isola, they were laid under an interdict. When, after the destruction of Lodi Vecchio, the citizens resolved to erect a new city on a new site, almost their first care was to lay the foundations of the new cathedral, and translate with all solemnity the body of their patron saint, S. Bassiano. Innumerable texts prove the popular enthusiasm for the relics of the saints and for religious ceremonies. Vast crowds assembled for the consecration of churches. The consuls of Milan issued a special decree affording safe conduct to all who should come to the festival of the saints Gervasio and Protasio. Churches were erected in incredible numbers. In Pavia there were, in the XIV century, one hundred and thirty-three churches in the city and thirty-four more in the suburbs.[1] The little town of Corneto Tarquinia, which was not even the seat of a bishopric, possessed seventy-one churches, of which only five were monastic.[2] Doubtless other towns possessed a proportionate number of ecclesiastical establishments. When we remember that mediæval towns were frequently destroyed by conflagrations, we can imagine what an enormous amount of building it must have constantly required to reconstruct when necessary and maintain

[1] Anonymi Ticinensis, *De Laudibus Papiae*, ed. Muratori, R. I. S., XI, 8 f.
[2] Guerri, 358.

in repair this vast number of edifices,[3] and with what generosity the citizens must have contributed to the support of the Church. In at least one instance the people of Lombardy emulated those of France, and ran in great numbers to carry on their backs stones destined for a new church-building.[4] Enthusiasm for religion, however, and even love of the Church as an institution was not, in the XI and XII centuries, any more than in present-day Italy, incompatible with lively dislike of individual priests.[5] Far less rarely than in the North did this dislike flare up into actual outbursts of hate, resulting in physical violence,[6] but it found expression much more frequently in indifference and cynicism. In Lombard churches of the XII century this spirit appears in sculptures of a distinctly satiric character, directed against the priests, or even against Christianity, a century and a half earlier than similar works of art—at least to the extent of my knowledge—can be found north of the Alps.

[3] Padova was destroyed by the Lombards in the time of Teodolinda (Pauli Diaconi, *Hist. Long.,* IV, 23, ed. Waitz, 155); Parma was burned in 1038 and 1055 (*Chronicon Parmense,* ed. Muratori, R. I. S., IX, 759); Brescia was burned in 1096 (Jacobi Malvecii, *Chronicon,* VII, 16, ed. Muratori, R. I. S., XIV, 873); and again in 1144 (*ibid.,* VII, 36, ed. M., 877); Cremona was burned in 1113 (*Chronicon Cremonense,* ed. Muratori, R. I. S., VII, 634); Novara was twice burned during the XII century (see below, Vol. III, p. 113); Verona was burned in 1172 (*Chronicon Veronense,* ed. Muratori, R. I. S., VIII, 621); Milan was burned in 1071 and again in 1075 (see below, Vol. II, pp. 635, 659 f.). Cf. Galvanei Flammæ, *Manipulus Florum,* CLVI, ed. Muratori, R. I. S., XI, 628.

[4] Et ad praedictum opus [ecclesia Jesu Christi fratrum Praedicatorum in civitate regina] faciendum veniebant homines et mulieres Regii tam parvi quam magni, tam milites quam pedites, tam rustici quam cives; et ferebant lapidem, sabulam et calcinam super dorsa sua in pellibus variis et zendalibus. Et beatus ille, qui plus poterat deportare. Et fecerunt omnia fundamenta domorum et ecclesiae; et partem muraverunt. Et in tertio anno compleverunt totum laborerium suum. Et tunc frater Jacobinus superstabat ad laboreria bene facienda. (Salimbene ad ann. 1233, ed. Parm. 1857, 34-35).

[5] Nulla certe in mundo tam crudelis bestia quam malus sacerdos et monachus qui non corrigi paratur nec veritatem undique audire potest (*Chronica,* detta di Filippo da Castel Seprio, MS. Amb., S. Q. + I, 12, f. 42). Heu domine quid dicam quod hodie sacerdotes se comedunt in altari ut carnes pecudum et volucrum immo plus quod nocte mulierum fornicationi ac in turpissimo immiscendo et mane masticando te commedunt (*ibid.,* f. 36). Sunt qui tales sacerdotes et monaci solum habitu (*ibid.,* f. 42), etc.

[6] Such, however, did occur. In 1032 the emperor had to interfere in the strife between the Cremonesi and their bishop. In 1256 the master-builders of Como waged a pitched battle with the monks of S. Abondio (Tatti, II, 951). The Pavesi sacked the monastery of Morimondo and outraged the monks.

Such sculptures, however, are undoubtedly more the result of the individual feelings of the artists than an interference with the church-building by the secular authorities. Such interference did, nevertheless, take place. Even before the year 1000 secular persons had been in the habit of maintaining jurisdiction over churches. A law of Lothair I[7] decreed that a church constructed by a private person on his own land should remain his own property, even if consecrated by a bishop, and even if the rite of baptism were there performed—that is to say, even if the church were a parish; for in these early times the phrase "church with right of baptism" is regularly used to denote a parish church. From a law of Lothair II,[8] it appears that counts and *missi* were in the habit of playing an important part in the restoration of churches. It had earlier been decreed that churches, both parish and non-parish, should continue to be restored by whoever had been in the habit of doing so in the past.

In actual practice we find that churches were considered a piece of property like any other, and a profitable investment for the owner, whether he were a secular person, a monastery, a chapter or a bishop. The rights of the family of Rozo over the church of S. Sepolcro at Milan were acknowledged for a long period of years, and in 1100 the edifice was rebuilt at their initiative. Similarly, the church of S. Maria of Calvenzano, which had long existed, was rebuilt and donated to the abbey of Cluny by its owners.

During the XII century, the communes succeeded, little by little, in wresting from the bishops and from the chapters jurisdiction over the cathedral churches in most of the large Lombard towns. The documents enable us to catch glimpses here and there of the progress of this strife at Modena. Despite the spirited resistance of the clergy, the commune appropriated to itself one prerogative after another over the cathedral building. The commune used the cathedral for assemblies, and even passed laws dictating that certain offerings must be applied, not for the support of the priests, but for maintaining the building in repair.

[7] No. 85, Muratori, R. I. S., I, pt. 2, 148.
[8] No. 42, Muratori, R. I. S., I, pt. 2, 141.

The massaro was charged with the administration of these and all other funds appertaining to the *fabbrica.* This massaro was appointed by the bishop and chapter, but the commune passed a law decreeing that he must be a borghese and not an ecclesiastic. Elsewhere, throughout Lombardy, we catch here and there echoes of a similar strife between the commune and the clergy, ending invariably in the victory of the former. At Como the citizens took, not the cathedral, but the church of S. Giacomo for their assemblies.[9] As early as 1022 the citizens of Brescia began to use their cathedral for secular meetings.[10] Numerous other instances of the same practice might be cited.[11] In a bull of 1204, the pope Innocent III complained to the archbishop of Ravenna that at Modena the podestà arrogated to himself even the right of regulating the ringing of the church-bells.[12] At Novara the consuls held their courts of law in the cathedral.[13] At Parma, especially from the XIII century onward, the citizens interfered persistently in the details of the administration of the cathedral. The elections of the podestà were sometimes held in the cathedral or in the baptistery.[14] The revenues of the cathedral and baptistery buildings were administered by a duumvirate, consisting of one layman and one ecclesiastic; but in 1448 this duumvirate was supplanted by a committee consisting of two citizens and two canons.[15] Fra Salimbene, in speaking of the completion of the baptistery of Parma, refers to it as the work of the citizens, implying that the ecclesiastical authorities were little concerned with the work. At Milan the commune appropriated the galleries of the basilica of S. Ambrogio to use as a storehouse for grain.[16]

It was, however, only towards the close of the Romanesque period that the communes commenced to interfere in the administration of churches. The great majority of Romanesque buildings in Lombardy were erected exclusively under the direction of the clergy.

The organization of the clergy in northern Italy, and

[9] Cantù, I, 239. [10] Oderici, III, 321; IV, 219. [11] Zamboni, 2.
[12] Borghi, 159. [13] Gemelli, 3. [14] Lopez, 114. [15] *Ibid.,* 117, 136.
[16] Texts cited below, Vol. II, p. 568; Vol. III, p. 152.

especially at Milan, offers certain peculiarities which the student of Lombard architecture will do well to bear in mind. It will be recalled that the church of Milan enjoyed certain unusual privileges. Among these was the use of the Ambrosian rite and a clergy organized upon extraordinary lines. Beneath the archbishop was a college of cardinals. In the early XII century, these cardinals included the *archipresbyter* and *vicedominus* of Milan, the *presbyter* of Vellate, the deacon of Birago, another deacon and the deacon of Arsago who had become canon of Mortara.[17] It is evident therefore that the title of cardinal was an honour bestowed upon prominent secular clergymen of different churches of the diocese. In later times the cardinals came to be called *ordinarii*. Their number was fixed at twenty-four, and they were united into a chapter regular.[18]

The decumani were an order apart. They were always one hundred in number and served in the eleven mother-churches of Milan. At their head stood the *primicerio*. The decumani seem to have been always *presbyteri*, that is to say, priests in charge of parish duties. Dependent upon the decumani were the cappellani, who officiated in ten chapels. In the diocese of Monza there were decumani and ordinarii similar to those of Milan.

In certain cases the dean of a chapter was given the title of *prior*.

The churches of S. Ambrogio at Milan and S. Pietro in Ciel d'Oro at Pavia possessed two bodies of clergy, one a chapter of canons, the other a chapter of monks. In neither instance does the arrangement seem to have proved a happy one. In both churches hostility soon developed between the two bodies, and this enmity lasted for long centuries, manifesting itself not only in unending lawsuits, but even, at times, in acts of physical violence and crime.

Certain chapters had connected with them women to whom was given the title of *conversæ*, or lay-sisters. These were

[17] Giulini, VII, 79, 85.

[18] Landulphi Senioris, *Med. Hist.*, I, III-V, ed. Muratori, R. I. S., IV, 62-63; Arnulphi, *Hist. Med.*, I, 1, ed. Muratori, R. I. S., IV, 8; Galvanei Flammæ, *Manipulus Florum*, ed. Muratori, R. I. S., XI, 570.

probably persons to whom a sort of pension was given in return for services rendered.

In the latter part of the XI century it became customary to intrust the care of the church-building, and all that had to do with its maintenance or reconstruction, to an officer called the superstans. This dignitary existed in all the more important churches of Milan. In the case of S. Ambrogio, the documents prove that he was appointed neither by the canons nor by the monks, but by the archbishop.[19] The superstans was the chief officer, or rather, it appears, generally the sole officer, of what was known as the *fabbrica* or the *laborerio*. By this term was meant the administration of all that had to do with constructing, restoring, or maintaining in repair, the church-building. It included not only looking after the funds required for building expenses, but also the executive part of their expenditure, making contracts with builders, obtaining materials, etc. Legacies were frequently left, and donations made, to the *laborerio* of a given church. Outside of Milan the superstans was often supplanted by a committee of several persons.[20] These were regularly clerics.[21] Outside of the immediate neighbourhood of Milan the superstans was often a cleric, in which case he was given almost always the title of massaro, but the duties appear to have been substantially the same, and the organization of the *laborerio* essentially identical.

As elsewhere in Europe the XI and XII centuries in Lombardy were a time of storm and stress for the Church, which was rent by schisms and by attempts at reform which, in general, succeeded only after bitter strife. In the XI century the questions of simony and the right of priests to maintain concu-

[19] In 1156 the archbishop conceded the right of appointing the superstans to the canons of S. Eustorgio (Giulini, VII, 136).

[20] At Cremona the members of this committee were all given the title of massaro: the leader was capo massaro. At S. Zeno of Verona there were two massari in 1178.

[21] II idus Marc. Anno ab Incarnatione Domini MCCLVI indictione IIII, obiit frater Albricus, qui fuit rector, gubernator, et minister domus laborerii ecclesiae Sancti Evaxii de Casali, et iudicavit ecclesiae supradictae libras XII papienses in auxilium emendi calicem argenteum, et planetam pro animae suae mercede (*Necrologium Ecclesiae Beati Evasii Casalensis*, ed. *Hist. Pat. Mon.*, V, 462). Many other texts might be cited.

bines were the chief points at issue. Eventually the conscience of the people resulted in at least making illegal, if not in altogether suppressing, both abuses. On the whole, the clergy of Lombardy during the Romanesque period, if they failed to rise to the heights of piety attained by the clergy of France, seem, on the other hand, never to have sunk as low as those of certain other parts of Europe. In religious matters the Italians always have been inclined to hold a middle course. The great reforms of Cluny and of St. Bernard passed over the Italian clergy, leaving them essentially as unaltered as did the revolt of Luther some centuries later.

APPENDIX. MASONRY

Of one other matter the reader should be warned before plunging into the complex questions which beset the history of the Lombard style. For determining the date of Lombard buildings no other criterion can be relied upon as confidently as the character of the masonry. Ornamental or structural characteristics of an earlier time may be repeated archaistically, but the character of masonry depends upon a general and ever changing tradition. Even when modern restorers consciously attempt to reproduce the masonry of earlier times, they invariably fail. The living tradition of the masons can not be set aside. More or less consistent attempts have been made to establish the chronology of buildings of the Roman period by the masonry, and something of the sort has been done in northern Europe, especially in England, but it is strange that the method has not yet been applied in Lombardy, where the ambiguity of structural and ornamental types makes it of the greatest usefulness in determining the age of monuments.

If we can once bring ourselves to give attention to a matter which seems so dull and academic, we shall find no difficulty in perceiving that masonry underwent a steady development and improvement during the Lombard period. Compare, for example, the masonry of the church of Spigno (Plate 207, Fig. 4), an authentically dated monument of 991, with that of the western part[1] of the nave of S. Carpoforo at Como (Plate 60, Fig. 4), an authentically dated monument of 1040, and with S. Benedetto di Lenno (Plate 102, Fig. 5), an authentically dated monument of 1083. It will be evident that at Spigno the masonry is much rougher than in the other two edifices; that the stones are of irregular size and shape, and laid with little

[1] The masonry of the eastern part of this nave was denatured in the restoration.

regard to the horizontality of the courses; that the mortar-beds are wide, the scaffolding holes unduly large and prominent. At S. Carpoforo of Como, on the other hand, the masonry is decidedly better, the courses have a distinctly horizontal tendency, the stones are more nearly of the same size and shape, the mortar-beds are narrower. At S. Benedetto di Lenno, furthermore, the masonry is still superior, the stones are dressed and laid in courses which are generally horizontal. That is to say, in the century which elapsed between the building of Spigno and of S. Benedetto there was a progressive improvement in the character of the masonry. That this improvement was steady and consistent we shall readily convince ourselves if we examine the masonry of edifices built between 981 and 1083. Let us take, for example, the church of S. Giovanni at Vigolo Marchese (Plate 240, Fig. 5). It will be evident upon inspection of the photographs that this masonry falls midway between that of Spigno and that of S. Carpoforo of Como, and, in point of fact, if we turn to our documents we shall find that this church was erected in 1008. Now, this progressive development in the character of the masonry began much before 981, and continued after 1083. A few experiments with the monuments listed in the chronological chart will, I think, be sufficient to convince the reader that the date of monuments may be readily determined by the character of their masonry.

We must, however, be on our guard against supposing that the matter is as clear and obvious as the four examples cited might lead us to suppose. There are certain difficulties which, although easily explained when carefully studied, at first glance appear so great that they are discouraging. Thus, if we look at the apse of S. Giulia of Bonate, a church which dates from 1129, we shall find broken courses and rubble which seem distinctly more primitive than the masonry of S. Benedetto di Lenno. At Sesto Calende, in the choir (c. 1100) and even in the narthex (c. 1130) of S. Donato, and in the apse of S. Vincenzo (Plate 2, Fig. 1), a monument which dates from 1102, we find masonry which would appear much earlier than it really is. At S. Maria Maggiore of Bergamo the masonry of 1187 is

distinctly rougher than that of fifty years earlier. In Verona[2] (c. 1110) we find at S. Lorenzo (Plate 219, Fig. 2) herring-bone pebble work, very similar to masonry of sixty years earlier in the province of Novara. At Lodi Vecchio and in many other churches[3] masonry of very different character is used in the piers and structural portions of the edifice (Plate 104, Fig. 3; Plate 105, Fig. 1, 2, 4) from that used in the screen-walls (Plate 105, Fig. 3).[4]

Such apparent contradictions are generally to be explained by local conditions. It is well known that in Italy a few kilometres in distance will often mean a complete change in the racial characteristics of the people and the physical conditions of their environment. Como and Milan are cities situated only forty kilometres apart, yet not only do the people of Como speak a dialect essentially different from that of Milan, but they have a national character of their own quite distinct from that of the Milanesi. The climatic conditions of the two cities are entirely divergent. Moreover, Como is placed in the mountains, Milan in the flattest of plains. At Como there was plenty of wood and stone for building, at Milan there was only brick. It is therefore not surprising that the Romanesque architecture of Como is absolutely different from that of Milan; and the architecture was different, not only in its structural and ornamental features, but in the character of its masonry as well.

Differences as striking as those which exist between the schools of Milan and Como exist between all the other innumerable schools into which the Romanesque architecture of Lombardy was divided. No two were alike, no one but had its own distinct and individual character. While some were in advance, others lagged behind. It therefore results as a primary and fundamental rule of criticism that, in establishing chronology, a monument is to be compared, so far as possible, with monuments which belong to the same local school, and which are situated

[2] Also at Cascina S. Trinità—c. 1130—(Plate 50, Fig. 2), Isola della Scala—1120—(Plate 101, Fig. 1), Castelletto Monastero (c. 1110), etc.

[3] Such as Rivolta d'Adda, Pallanza, S. Fermo di Sopra.

[4] At Maderno the masonry of the flanks is distinctly inferior to that of the façade, although contemporary.

geographically as near to it as possible. Monuments separated by a considerable geographical distance may be compared only with the utmost caution, and when there is reason to believe that the two local schools were advancing about abreast of each other.

There can be no doubt that the building material available had a great influence upon the character of the construction.[5] The fact that pebbles were abundantly obtainable at Sesto Calende induced the masons to retain a rough rubble masonry at a time when this had been discarded elsewhere. Yet the narthex of S. Donato proves that the masons of Sesto were perfectly capable of executing fine ashlar when they could obtain the stone. Brick was used at Milan because it was easier to obtain than stone, pebbles, or wood. Economy also frequently played its part in altering the character of masonry. Simple edifices were generally more carelessly built than important churches. For the same reason the structural portions of churches, that is to say, the piers and those parts of the wall upon which weight was concentrated, were regularly built of better masonry than the portions of the wall which served merely to fill in. In assigning dates, these facts must always be borne in mind and discounted. Notwithstanding the exceptions, however, the general rule remains that masonry from the X to the XII century underwent a steady and progressive development, and that it affords the key by means of which the chronology of a building may be most safely determined.

Even before the Lombard invasion, the technique of masonry had sunk to the lowest depths. The sacristy of SS. Felice e Fortunato at Vicenza, which was built in 554, is constructed of stones and bits of brick obviously second-hand, and laid in courses which are seldom horizontal. Those portions of the masonry of S. Salvatore of Brescia (Plate 35, Fig. 3) which appear to date from c. 550-c. 575 are constructed of rubble masonry of the roughest sort. Masonry of coarse rubble and walls of enormous thickness characterize the church of S. Salvatore of Barzanò (Plate 20, Fig. 2) which, I believe, dates from c. 590.

Of the masonry of the VII century and even of the early

[5] At Corneto no mortar was used between the stone joints.

part of the VIII century, we know nothing. At SS. Tosca e Teuteria of Verona, in the portions of wall which date from 751, we find chunks of brick of all sizes and shapes, unsquared blocks of stones, pebbles and a few squared blocks (doubtless pilfered), piled in haphazard, although herring-bone and even horizontal courses occur.

In the IX century the quality of the masonry declined even further. At S. Pietro of Agliate, which dates from c. 875, the masonry is little better than crude rubble (Plate 5, Fig. 3). Even rougher is the masonry of the transepts of S. Stefano of Verona (c. 885). Similar masonry is found in the baptisteries of Settimo Vittone—889—(Plate 206, Fig. 2) and Agliate—c. 900—(Plate 5, Fig. 5), and at S. Orso of Aosta (923). In 991 at Spigno, the masonry shows a distinct improvement in quality (Plate 207, Fig. 4).

In the XI century, as has already been seen, masonry in stone underwent rapid development. The character of stone-work about the year 1000 may be seen in the church of S. Fedelino on the Lago di Mezzola (Plate 102, Fig. 1), or in the later portions of S. Giorgio di Valpolicella. In the latter edifice, small rectangular pieces of stone, mixed occasionally with brick, are laid in thick beds of mortar. The church of Montecchia (Plate 147, Fig. 2) shows masonry in which some attempt is made to maintain horizontal courses. In the Foresteria of Sagra S. Michele we find rather cruder masonry dating from 1002. The masonry of S. Ponzo Canavese, dating from c. 1005, is formed of round stones from the river-bed, bricks and other fragmentary materials, although, as at Montecchia, a certain horizontality of the courses is maintained. It will be noted that in both instances the walls support a vault. At S. Ponzo the walls are 1.41 metres thick. A similar attempt to use superior material in structural portions of the edifice is to be found at S. Vincenzo of Galliano, an authentically dated monument of 1007, in which the archivolts are of carefully laid bricks, although the wall is of rubble. This same construction is repeated in the baptistery of Vigolo Marchese, which dates from c. 1010. The remainder of the masonry at S. Vincenzo of Galliano (Plate 99,

Fig. 1), before it was denatured by the recent restoration, consisted of uncut stones and a few bits of brick. At S. Giovanni of Vigolo Marchese (Plate 240, Fig. 5), an authentically dated monument of 1008, much herring-bone work is introduced. The baptistery at Vigolo Marchese (Plate 240, Fig. 3), although almost contemporary with the church, shows masonry of superior quality. Vaulted edifices almost invariably were better built than contemporary edifices roofed in wood. The masonry of Piobesi—c. 1020—(Plate 188, Fig. 1) and of S. Pietro at Acqui (Plate 4, Fig. 2), an authentically dated monument of 1015-1023, shows an advance, in that the stones are somewhat larger and more regularly shaped, and the courses more horizontal. In the baptistery of Galliano, built c. 1015 (Plate 96, Fig. 1), there is a distinct tendency towards horizontal courses, although the masonry is still of rubble. Oleggio—c. 1030—(Plate 160, Fig. 1) and Mazzone—c. 1030—(Plate 187, Fig. 1) are constructed of uncut stones mixed with cut stones and brick. At Sezzè (Plate 206, Fig. 4), an authentically dated monument of 1030, we find a distinct advance. The masonry is formed of brick-shaped stones and brick. Although the mortar-beds are thick, many courses are horizontal; others are irregular and herring-bone work is introduced. At Biella (Plate 24, Fig. 2), a vaulted edifice of c. 1040, we find masonry which at first glance seems somewhat more primitive. A closer study, however, shows that this appearance is due to the fact that many stones from the river-bed have been employed, but that really the masonry is superior to that of Sezzè. The cut stones are laid in courses with an accuracy even greater than in the latter edifice. The masonry of Sommacampagna—c. 1040—(Plate 207, Fig. 1) is also rough. At Piona (Plate 188, Fig. 4), about the same date, we find masonry that really begins to look like ashlar. Although the courses wander up and down, although the mortar-beds are thick, and the stones of very variable size, this masonry is far superior to any we have yet found. It should be observed, however, that in the recent restoration this masonry of Piona was carefully worked over and made to appear much better than it really is. Before the restoration it was hardly superior to that

of the contemporary church of S. Pietro di Civate (Plate 56, Fig. 5). The masonry of the neighbouring chapel of S. Benedetto (Plate 56, Fig. 4), which was intended to be vaulted, is better, and probably dates from about five years later. The ashlar of Sasso (Plate 205, Fig. 2), an edifice which dates from c. 1050, has really ceased to be rubble.

The masonry of the cathedral at Acqui, a building begun c. 1015, and consecrated in 1067, is even better (Plate 2, Fig. 6). At Curreggio—c. 1055—(Plate 87, Fig. 1) the large stones are roughly or not at all squared, and are laid in courses seldom horizontal. Pebbles and herring-bone brickwork are introduced. S. Vincenzo of Gravedona (Plate 100, Fig. 4, 5), erected in 1072, is constructed of small rectangular blocks of stone, roughly squared and irregularly laid. At Cosio, an authentically dated monument of 1078, we find blocks of extremely variable size employed. Some are of fairly Cyclopean dimensions, while others are little better than small, rough pebbles. The courses tend to be horizontal, but the joints are often very wide. The masonry at the Badia di Vertemate, an authentically dated monument of 1083-1095, is much better, as is also that of the baptistery of Lenno (Plate 102, Fig. 2), which dates from c. 1085. The contemporary baptistery of Oggiono (Plate 159, Fig. 2, 3, 4) shows similar stonework. The masonry of Monastero di Capo di Ponte—c. 1090—(Plate 146, Fig. 2) is finer, although the courses are often broken. Very similar, but even better, is the masonry of S. Abondio of Como (Plate 58, Fig. 2), in which small rectangular blocks of various sizes are laid in courses not always horizontal. This church was consecrated in 1095.

While stone masonry was undergoing this evolution, masonry in brick had been developing with similar rapidity. The two constructions appear to have existed alongside of each other from the earliest times. One of the few facts which can be gathered from the puzzling set of building laws attributed to Luitprando is that there were in use in the VIII century two distinct kinds of construction known respectively as *opera gallica* and *opera romanense*. The *opera gallica* was probably the rubble con-

struction which, as we have seen, was much employed. The *opera romanense* was presumably construction in brick, such as had been used in Roman times. In point of fact, in the church of S. Salvatore of Brescia, constructed c. 760, at the order of the Lombard sovereigns, we find flat bricks laid in horizontal courses (Plate 35, Fig. 1), in quite the Roman manner.

It is probable, however, that this tradition died out soon after. Forty years later, in the Campanile dei Monaci at S. Ambrogio of Milan, we find employed bricks (Plate 118, Fig. 4) quite different from those of the Romans, being of irregular size and shape, and tending to be rather thick. It is evident that these bricks were made, not in a mould such as is employed in the manufacture of bricks to-day, but that the clay was merely cut into the shape desired when it was quite soft and left to dry. This same process of manufacture continued to be used throughout the Romanesque period. At S. Vincenzo of Milan, a church which dates from c. 830 (Plate 137, Fig. 7), we find similar bricks, small and irregular in shape, with thick mortar-beds, laid in courses in the main regular and horizontal, although vertical and oblique courses are introduced. At SS. Tosca e Teuteria of Verona bricks of irregular size were roughly laid in courses approximately horizontal, separated by mortar-beds of enormous thickness (c. 875). Very small bricks were used in the baptistery of Novara (c. 900). In the apse of S. Ambrogio at Milan (Plate 117, Fig. 5), an authentically dated monument of 940, we find the brickwork is decidedly rough, with many vertical and many herring-bone courses. In the apse of S. Eustorgio of the same city, which dates from c. 1000 (Plate 127, Fig. 4), we find again bricks of all sizes and shapes, laid with thick mortar-beds.[6] The courses are approximately horizontal, but much herring-bone work is introduced. The masonry of c. 1010 at S. Sofia of Padova consists of broken bits of brick roughly laid in horizontal courses, with wide mortar-beds. In the contemporary baptistery of Vigolo Marchese we find for the first time the use of bricks of enormous dimensions. Such bricks, characteristic of much

[6] This masonry has been denatured by restoration.

of the brick masonry of the first half of the XI century, serve to establish the date of many edifices.[7] At Lomello, an edifice erected c. 1025, the bricks are small (Plate 111, Fig. 3) and roughly laid, often obliquely or in herring-bone courses. Sometimes the broad side or end of the brick is exposed to view. There are broad beds of coarse mortar. The brickwork at S. Sepolcro of Milan, an authentically dated monument of 1030, is very similar but slightly better. Rough bricks, which vary greatly in size, are mixed occasionally with blocks of stone, especially at the angles. There is much herring-bone work (Plate 133, Fig. 2, 6). The apse of SS. Felice e Fortunato at Vicenza, in the parts which date from c. 1030 (Plate 239, Fig. 4), is built of bricks laid in courses for the most part horizontal, but frequently broken. Herring-bone and vertical work occurs. Some stones and many fragmentary bricks of all sizes, shapes and colours, are indiscriminately mingled together. The wide mortar-beds contain pebbles. At Casalino, built c. 1040, herring-bone work predominates (Plate 48, Fig. 1). In the contemporary church of Calvenzano (Plate 41, Fig. 1, 2), the bricks vary greatly in size, and are frequently laid in herring-bone fashion. At Sannazzaro Sesia (Plate 201, Fig. 5), a monument of 1040, the brickwork is of similar character, but bands of herring-bone pebbles[8] are introduced. In the piers and structural portions (Plate 201, Fig. 6) the masonry is of a superior quality. At Brusasco (c. 1050) the bricks are small and of irregular size, and the courses seldom horizontal. At S. Nazaro of Milan, an edifice begun c. 1075, the masonry is much superior. In the atrium of S. Ambrogio (Plate 118, Fig. 7; Plate 120, Fig. 1) we see how far the technique of construction had advanced at the end of the XI century.

The brickwork of the XI century shows to a large extent local variations due to the traditions of the different schools, and in order to arrive at a conclusion in regard to the date of a given

[7] Large bricks are found, *e.g.*, at Stradella (c. 1035)—one measures 27 x 7 x 30 centimetres—and in the campanile of S. Satiro of Milan (1043). Occasionally bricks of colossal dimensions continued to be used, even in the XII century, as at Montechiarugolo (c. 1145), where some of the bricks are nearly a metre in length.

[8] Compare the herring-bone pebble work at Oleggio—c. 1030—(Plate 160, Fig. 3).

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edifice, it is necessary to compare the masonry carefully with other monuments of the same region, especially as to the size of the bricks, the width of the mortar courses, and the composition of the mortar. It would be too tedious here to go over in detail the innumerable variations and peculiarities which the masonry of this period shows and by means of which it is possible to date many edifices. One point, however, is so important, and has been so frequently misunderstood, that it will be necessary to speak of it at some length.

It has already been remarked that Lombard bricks were not made in a mould, but were cut out of the wet clay while it was still soft. In order to afford a key by which the mortar might grip the bricks more firmly, or to which the gesso almost invariably applied to the finished wall surface might adhere, it was customary to roughen the surface of the bricks. This roughening was done by means of zigzag lines scratched on the surface before the clay dried (Plate 118, Fig. 7), and is known as cross-hatching. Except in unusual instances, it was applied to only one face of the brick, perhaps because it was difficult to turn the bricks when they were still soft. In some cases it happened that cross-hatched bricks were used where there was no need of the hatching, or even that the hatched surface was placed inward. In some cases—as at S. Lorenzo of Milan, or the façade of Lodi Vecchio—the cross-hatching was added after the bricks had been made, and probably even after they had been placed in position.[9] It was naturally much more difficult to cross-hatch the bricks after they had hardened than when they were soft, and it is easy to distinguish the two processes in the finished product.[10] When the cross-hatching was performed upon hardened bricks there were cut a few deep lines instead of many shallow ones.[11]

The custom of cross-hatching bricks came into use in the XI century. I have found no instance of it earlier than the year

[9] Sometimes stone blocks were similarly cross-hatched. Instances may be found at Cemmo, Vaprio d'Adda, Cavana, S. Michele di Castelvetro, Montiglio and Albugnano.

[10] Examples of bricks incised thus after they had dried may be found at S. Ruffillo di Bologna—1178—(Plate 204, Fig. 2), Cirié (c. 1100), etc.

[11] Many Lombard bricks were made with dents, or finger-holes, in order to facilitate handling.

1000.[12] During the first half of the XI century, cross-hatched bricks appear occasionally, as, for example, at Lomello—c. 1025—(Plate 111, Fig. 3) and Stradella (c. 1035), though in the great majority of instances, such as Oleggio (c. 1030), Calvenzano—c. 1040—(Plate 41, Fig. 1, 2), S. Satiro at Milan (1043), Sannazzaro Sesia—1040—(Plate 201, Fig. 5, 6) and Lodi Vecchio (c. 1050), they continue to be without cross-hatching. During the second half of the XI century, on the other hand, cross-hatched bricks were almost exclusively used. In fact I know of no masonry erected between the years 1050 and 1100 in which the bricks are not cross-hatched.

During the XII century the bricks were sometimes cross-hatched and sometimes not. In the cathedral of Cremona, the bricks laid between 1107 and 1117 are cross-hatched, while those laid between 1129 and 1141 are not cross-hatched. As a general rule, the cross-hatching of bricks appears to have become more and more rare as the XII century progressed, but instances of it may be found until the XIII century.[13]

The XII century brought great improvement in the quality of masonry, especially in ashlar. If we compare the stonework at S. Abondio of Como (Plate 58, Fig. 2) with the splendid ashlar of the cathedral of Modena (Plate 140, Fig. 1, 3), a building begun in 1099, the difference between the two appears to be so startling that it might well make us doubt whether one or both the edifices be not incorrectly dated. The apparent inconsistency is to be explained partly by the divergence of the

[12] For example, the bricks of S. Satiro at Milan, which dates from 876, and those of SS. Tosca e Teuteria, Verona, which dates from c. 875, are both uncross-hatched.

[13] Cross-hatched bricks are found, for example, in the cupola of S. Nazaro, Milan—1112—(Plate 128, Fig. 1), at S. Babila of the same city (c. 1120), at S. Maria del Popolo of Pavia (c. 1130), at Cerreto (c. 1140), at Chiaravalle della Colomba (c. 1145), at S. Simpliciano of Milan (c. 1150), at S. Michele di Castelvetro (c. 1150), in the narthex of Casale (c. 1150), at Marentino—c. 1150—(Plate 113, Fig. 1), at Castell'Alfero (c. 1155), at Viboldone (1176), at Rivalta Scrivia (1180), at Castelnuovo Scrivia (1183), at Carpi (1184), at Ganaceto (c. 1200), etc. On the other hand, bricks without cross-hatching may be found at S. Sofia of Padova (c. 1106), at S. Lorenzo of Mantova (c. 1115), at Nonantola (1121), at Pieve di Novi Ligure (c. 1130), at Cascina S. Trinità (c. 1130), at Morimondo (1186), at SS. Felice e Fortunato of Vicenza (1179), at Viboldone (c. 1195). At Ferrara (1177) the bricks are roughened, but not cross-hatched.

local schools and the building material available, partly by the genius of the master-builder, Lanfranco. In S. Fedele of Como (Plate 64, Fig. 4), we have masonry of c. 1115, which is only slightly better than that of S. Abondio of Como. Stonework almost as rough is found in the Abbazia di Albino (Plate 1, Fig. 2), an authentically dated monument of 1134-1136. Rough ashlar masonry is found in the campanile of S. Orso at Aosta as late as 1151. In all these and many other instances of the first half of the XII century that might be cited,[14] only the rough stone of the mountains was available, hard and difficult to work to a polished surface. At Modena, on the other hand, there were available numerous marble blocks from ancient Roman buildings, easily cut and polished and many, no doubt, already finely wrought to a form which could be used without change. This combination of circumstances, and the peculiar abilities of Lanfranco explain the superior quality of the masonry of Modena. The exceptional excellence of Lanfranco's ashlar is proved by the fact that during the entire XII century masons at Modena were unable to improve upon the standard set in 1099. The masonry of this entire cathedral, which was in construction for nearly a century, is homogeneous throughout. The stonework at Modena was imitated widely throughout Lombardy, and eventually caused a notable renaissance in the technique of ashlar construction. The new standard, however, at first made but slow progress. In the Duomo Vecchio of Brescia, a church constructed c. 1105 (Plate 31, Fig. 7, 8), we find masonry little better than that of the XI century. The courses are often not horizontal, the blocks are small and of different sizes. The church of Vaprio d'Adda—c. 1115—(Plate 212, Fig. 4, 5) is built of larger blocks laid quite as carelessly. Large and small blocks are mixed at Garbagnate Monastero—c. 1120—(Plate 99, Fig. 5) and Maderno—c. 1120—(Plate 112, Fig. 1). At Isola S. Giulio (c. 1120), mixed with rubble, ashlar quoins and brick herring-bone work, there are bits of ashlar masonry formed of

[14] Compare Pieve Trebbio, a dated edifice of 1108 (Plate 187, Fig. 3), Castelletto Monastero (c. 1110), Cemmo—c. 1110—(Plate 52, Fig. 4), etc.

large, roughly squared blocks, laid in courses fairly horizontal. At S. Vittore of Arsago, which dates from about the same time, the masonry is formed of small unsquared, brick-shaped stones (Plate 16, Fig. 1). Much finer is the ashlar of S. Zaccaria—c. 1120—(Plate 205, Fig. 3). At Castell'Arquato (1117-1122) the ashlar is of good, but not superlative quality. The courses are not always true, the joints are frequently wide. At S. Giorgio of Almenno S. Salvatore (Plate 11, Fig. 5, 7) the construction consists of a mixture of ashlar and rubble. It is only in the fine ashlar of the more conspicuous parts of the cathedral of Piacenza, an edifice begun in 1122, that the influence of the Modena masonry is indubitably shown. At Agrate Conturbia, on the other hand (Plate 10, Fig. 3), we have masonry which, while much superior to that of the XI century, is still far from showing the perfection of that of the Emilian cathedrals. The baptistery of Arsago (Plate 15, Fig. 5), built c. 1125, is slightly better. Similar is the contemporary masonry at Fontanella (Plate 93, Fig. 3). At S. Maria del Solario of Brescia (Plate 32, Fig. 2), an edifice of this same time, the joints are fine, although the blocks are of various sizes. The stonework at Monastero di Provaglio—c. 1130—(Plate 147, Fig. 1) and Mergozzo—c. 1130—(Plate 113, Fig. 3) is similar. In the façade of the cathedral of Parma, an edifice begun about 1130 (Plate 166, Fig. 3), the masonry is of superlative quality. That of Rubbiano (c. 1130) is so fine that the blocks almost seem to be laid without mortar. In the cathedral of Ferrara, the ashlar, which dates from 1135, is laid in bands alternately wide and narrow. In 1138, at S. Zeno of Verona, we find ashlar masonry which is not only finer than that of Modena (Plate 224, Fig. 1), but is, perhaps, the equal of any erected in Lombardy during the Romanesque period. That of the cathedral of Verona, begun in 1139 (Plate 217, Fig. 5) is of the same excellence, as is also that of the country church of Rocca S. Maria (c. 1140). The masonry of Villanova (1148-1167)—Plate 241, Fig. 3—differs only in that the blocks are somewhat larger. Except where considerations of economy or lack of suitable building material

prevented,[15] the ashlar masonry of the last sixty years of the XII century continued on this same high level of excellence. See, for examples, S. Marziano of Viarigi—c. 1180—(Plate 239, Fig. 5); Varese (Plate 214, Fig. 1, 4), an authentically dated monument of 1187; the baptistery of Parma (Plate 163, Fig. 1), begun in 1196, or those portions of the cathedral of Verona which were erected between c. 1185 and 1193.

During the XII century, masonry in brick showed the same remarkable improvement as masonry in stone. Herring-bone courses which were constantly used in the XI century, especially in the non-structural portions of the walls, came to be employed less frequently, and finally disappeared.[16]

As in so much else, the cathedral of Modena appears to have opened a new era in brick masonry. The even courses of Lanfranco were imitated at Quarantoli in 1114,[17] and at Nonantola in 1121, although in both cases the imitation was inferior to the original. The Modena brickwork was also copied in the cathedral of Cremona between 1129 and 1141. All these neat bricks of regular shape, carefully laid in horizontal courses, form a striking contrast to the slap-dash work of the XI century. Even at Pavia, a centre slow to accept the ideas of Modena, the brickwork of S. Maria del Popolo, erected c. 1130 (Plate 171, Fig. 4), and that of S. Teodoro—c. 1135—(Plate 180, Fig. 7) show careful workmanship. In the nearly contemporary portions of the cathedral of Parma, the mortar-beds are really narrow, the earliest instance I know where such is the case. The brick masonry of S. Pietro in Ciel d'Oro at Pavia (Plate 177, Fig. 3), an edifice consecrated in 1132, is technically perfect. In the Cistercian abbey churches of Chiaravalle Milanese (1135-1221),

[15] As, for example, at the church of Almenno S. Bartolomeo, the main body of which (Plate 11, Fig. 1) dates from c. 1140, and the choir (Plate 10, Fig. 6) from c. 1180; or at Gallarate—c. 1145—(Plate 94, Fig. 3, 4), at Panico—c. 1145—(Plate 162, Fig. 4), or at Mont'Orfano (c. 1145).

[16] Herring-bone brickwork occurs in the Duomo Vecchio of Brescia (c. 1105), at S. Sofia of Padova (c. 1106), and at S. Savino of Piacenza (1107). The latest example of it that I know is at S. Sepolcro of Bologna (c. 1160).

[17] The brickwork of the transepts of S. Sepolcro, Milan—1100—(Plate 133, Fig. 3) shows an advance over that of the atrium of S. Ambrogio—c. 1090—(Plate 120, Fig. 1), but could not have been influenced by Modena.

Cerreto (c. 1140) and Chiaravalle della Colomba (c. 1145), the bricks are of regular size and laid in horizontal courses, but the mortar-beds are wide (Plate 53, Fig. 2; Plate 52, Fig. 1). Similar is the brickwork of Tronzano—c. 1140—(Plate 212, Fig. 6) and of S. Simpliciano of Milan (c. 1150), but in the narthex of Casale, which is of about the same date, the horizontal courses are interrupted. The masonry of S. Pietro of Asti (c. 1160) is quite as rough, but at S. Lazaro of Pavia—1157—(Plate 169, Fig. 3, 4; Plate 170, Fig. 2), the brickwork is perfect. That of the baptistery of Cremona—1167—(Plate 83, Fig. 6) is also excellent. At S. Vittore of S. Ruffillo di Bologna—1178—(Plate 204, Fig. 2), long, narrow bricks are laid in continuous horizontal courses. The uncross-hatched bricks of the upper part of the apse of SS. Felice e Fortunato, Vicenza, are laid in horizontal courses separated by narrow mortar-beds, neatly interspersed with bits of fine ashlar (Plate 239, Fig. 4). This masonry dates from 1179. At Castelnuovo Scrivia we find in 1183 very large bricks laid in perfectly horizontal courses. The masonry of Carpi (1184) is quite similar (Plate 42, Fig. 6. The absodiole is modern). The bricks are unusually long in proportion[18] in the Chiesa Rossa of Voghera—c. 1184—(Plate 242, Fig. 1). In the Cistercian abbey of Morimondo (1186) the joints are again notably wide (Plate 154, Fig. 4). Typical examples of the brickwork of the end of the XII century may be found at S. Lorenzo of Cremona—c. 1195—(Plate 86, Fig. 1), and in the cloister of Montechiarugolo—c. 1200—(Plate 148, Fig. 1).

Characteristic of the masonry of the XII century was the use of polychromatic effects produced by laying bands of brick or stone of different colours. In buildings of the XI century such as Sannazzaro Sesia—1040—(Plate 201, Fig. 5), or in the piers of S. Severo of Bardolino, an edifice which dates from c. 1050, we find some tendency towards a polychromatic use of materials of contrasted colour. At S. Abondio of Como, in 1095, there is a distinct fondness for alternating stones of lighter and darker colours in the shafts and archivolts. At S. Michele of

[18] They measure 6-14 x 31-44 x 7-9 centimetres.

Pavia, which dates from c. 1100, stone and brick are mixed irregularly (Plate 176, Fig. 5). The earliest really polychromatic masonry which I know, however, is that of Casale, dating from 1107. At S. Lorenzo of Verona there is polychromatic masonry of brick, pebbles and ashlar dating from c. 1110 (Plate 220, Fig. 2, 3, 4; Plate 219, Fig. 1, 2, 3). Similar masonry is found at S. Pietro di Legnano (1117) and Isola della Scala—1120—(Plate 101, Fig. 1). In the façade and cupola of S. Stefano of Verona and at Portoeomaro (Plate 189, Fig. 3) there is fully developed polychromatic masonry dating from c. 1120. In such cases it is evident that the surface of the wall was not covered with gesso and frescos, as was the case universally in the XI century, even in exterior walls and when the ashlar was of the highest quality. At S. Giovanni in Fonte of Verona, in 1123, polychromatic masonry is used with fine decorative effect. At Brusasco (Plate 37, Fig. 3, 4), the banding is irregular, but effective.[19] In the façade of S. Ambrogio (c. 1090) and the cathedral of Parma (c. 1130-1150), there are inlaid patterns and checker-board work; masonry of the same character is found at Monteehiaro d'Asti—1140—(Plate 148, Fig. 3), Montafia—c. 1150—(Plate 147, Fig. 3), Cortazzone d'Asti—c. 1150—(Plate 82, Fig. 4), S. Sepolcro of Bologna (c. 1160) and the cathedral of Lodi (c. 1190). Polychromatic masonry was especially popular in the schools of Monferrato and Verona, but it found its way into Emilia—as, for example, in the apse of the cathedral of Piacenza (c. 1150-1165). In the second half of the XII century it came to be used with ever increasing refinement. There are notable examples of this period in various portions of S. Zeno of Verona (Plate 224, Fig. 1; Plate 225, Fig. 1; Plate 226, Fig. 3; Plate 234, Fig. 2), at S. Pietro of Asti—c. 1160—(Plate 16, Fig. 4), at Albugnano (c. 1185), and at Vezzolano (Plate 235, Fig. 1), an edifice finished in 1189.

[19] Other examples of polychromatic masonry are: Cascina S. Trinità—1130—(Plate 50, Fig. 2); Cavagnolo—c. 1130—(Plate 51, Fig. 4); Gravedona, S. Maria del Tiglio—c. 1135—(Plate 100, Fig. 1, 2); Montemagno—c. 1145—(Plate 152, Fig. 6, 7); S. Carpoforo of Como (c. 1145); S. Michele di Castelvetro (c. 1150).

It would be easily possible to carry the study of Lombard masonry to much greater detail, and indeed, something of the sort has been attempted in the list of monuments. I believe, however, that enough has been said to convince the reader that the character of the masonry in any given building affords a check which makes it impossible to misdate the edifice by any very considerable period of time.

PART I. STRUCTURE

Book I. The Carlovingian Style

Chapter I. Circular Churches, 600-774

During the VI century a wave of Byzantine influence swept over almost the whole of what had been the Latin world of architecture. The Greek style found its way, not only to Ravenna and to those portions of Italy which were actually conquered by Byzantine arms, but into the most remote corners of the peninsula as well, and even to outlying provinces. Indeed, except only at Rome, the architecture of the West during the VI century appears to have been almost as thoroughly Byzantine as that of the East.

That this fact has not been recognized is doubtless because there are extant not many monuments of this epoch outside of Ravenna and the shores of the Adriatic; while those which still stand are for the most part inconspicuous and easily overlooked. The evidence on the subject is, however, overwhelming.

Even in the V century Greek influence was strong in the Occident. Most of the bishops of Como at this epoch were Greeks.[1] Ennodio, in his tenth epigram,[2] describes an edifice erected at Milan evidently completely Byzantine in style. The eastern manner penetrated even as far west as Spain, since Isidore of Seville, who wrote in the early part of the VII century, speaks of architecture in terms which imply that he was familiar with edifices that must have been essentially Byzantine. In great part his work, it is true, is merely a compilation of classical Roman authors; but when he speaks of columnar buildings with wooden roofs highly decorated, mosaics, marble incrustations and mosaic pavements, he is doubtless describing edifices which he saw about him.

[1] Cantù, I, 116. [2] Oltrocchi, I, 233.

The baptistery of S. Giovanni adjoining the cathedral of Naples shows that the Byzantine style penetrated into southern Italy. A thorough examination would doubtless reveal many other proofs of its presence south of the Apennines. In northern Italy there are numerous monuments which still betray indubitable traces of this influence.

Of these, one of the most interesting has hitherto entirely escaped attention. It at present serves as sacristy to the church of SS. Felice e Fortunato at Vicenza, but in reality is a fragment of the church rebuilt by Narses in 554. The apse, still excellently preserved, is polygonal externally, semicircular internally—a disposition, as is well known, characteristic of the Byzantine churches of Ravenna. From old descriptions it is evident that the plan of the church was cruciform, that there was a central dome, and that the walls were adorned with mosaics. The building was, therefore, in every way a characteristic example of the Byzantine style.

The chapel of S. Satiro now connected with S. Ambrogio at Milan, was undoubtedly originally a Byzantine church of very similar type. The cupola was constructed of pottery jars precisely like the domes of the churches at Ravenna. Thoroughly Byzantine in type, too, is the church of S. Lorenzo at Milan, with the adjoining chapel of S. Aquilino.

The fragments of Group A of the Chiesa d'Aurona at Milan, now assembled in the Museo Archeologico, evidently come from a Byzantine edifice erected c. 500. They show the fully developed Byzantine style, somewhat modified by decadent Roman tradition (Plate 114, Fig. 1, 2; Plate 115, Fig. 1). Certain capitals of S. Salvatore at Brescia, evidently pilfered from an earlier church, are thoroughly Byzantine in type (Plate 36, Fig. 2).[3] In the chapel known as S. Benedetto at S. Zeno of Verona there is a Byzantine capital of the VI century (Plate 227, Fig. 1). This capital is possibly taken from the same building as certain capitals now preserved in S. Giovanni in Fonte of the same city. Byzantine capitals from another building are preserved at S. Lorenzo of Verona (Plate 221,

[3] Compare the capital of S. Vitale, Ravenna (Plate 36, Fig. 3).

Fig. 1, 3). There is a somewhat similar capital at S. Satiro of Milan (Plate 132, Fig. 6). The capitals of the crypt of S. Vincenzo at Milan (Plate 137, Fig. 1, 3) are clearly contemporary with the capitals of S. Apollinare Nuovo at Ravenna (Plate 137, Fig. 6). Other Byzantine capitals are extant in the crypts of S. Giovanni at Asti and of S. Stefano at Lenno, and another has recently been found by Ugo Monneret de Villard at S. Eufemia of Isola Comacina.

It is therefore not open to doubt that in the VI century the architecture of Lombardy had become thoroughly Byzantine. When the Lombards swept into the valley of the Po they found everywhere an architecture which had abandoned the Latin or Roman types of building in favour of the Oriental or Byzantine.

Of the immediate effects of the Lombard invasion upon art it is impossible to speak with certainty, since documents are lacking. It is probable, however, that the first result was to paralyze the building trade. Architecture, or at least monumental architecture, had already become predominantly, if not exclusively, ecclesiastical. The early Lombard kings were not only hostile invaders who devastated and pillaged conquered territories, but they were pagans who perhaps considered it almost a religious duty to offer every possible insult to the religion of a conquered nation. Paolo Diacono distinctly states that in these early times churches were spoiled and priests killed.[4] The famous monastery of Monte Casino was destroyed by the Lombards.[5] For nearly fifty years, therefore, it is probable that but little monumental building was undertaken in northern Italy.

At length, however, the Lombard sovereigns were converted to Christianity. The queen Teodolinda is recorded by authentic

[4] Per hos Longobardorum duces septimo anno ab adventu Albuuin, & totius gentis, spoliatis Ecclesiis, Sacerdotibus interfectis, civitatibus subrutis, populisque, qui more segetum excreverant, extinctis, exceptis his regionibus, quas Albuuin ceperat, Italia ex maxima parte capta, & a Longobardis subjugata est. (Paoli Diaconi, *De Gest. Long.,* Lib. II, Cap. XXXII, ed. Muratori, R. I. S., I, pt. I, 436). Per hanc quoque reginam [Theudelindam] multum utilitatis Dei ecclesia consecuta est. Nam pene omnes ecclesiarum substantias Longobardi, cum adhuc gentilitatis errore tenerentur, invaserunt. Sed huius salubri supplicatione rex permotus, et catholicam fidem tenuit, et multas possessiones ecclesiae Christi largitus est atque episcopos, qui in depressione et abiectione erant, ad diguitatis solitae honorem reduxit. (*Ibid.,* IV, 6, ed. Waitz, 146).

[5] Pauli Diaconi, *Hist. Long.,* IV, 17, ed. Waitz, 152.

documents as the foundress of the famous church of S. Giovanni at Monza, and tradition accredits this gentle figure, which even to-day still stirs the imagination of the peasants of Brianza, with the foundation of innumerable chapels and churches throughout the length and breadth of Lombardy. The example set by the famous queen was followed by the later kings, among whom Luitprando and Desiderio were especially conspicuous for their benefactions to monasteries.

The question naturally arises: when the Lombards turned to building churches, what type of architecture did they adopt? Since they possessed no architectural art of their own, it is certain that they could only have attempted to revive the Byzantine style, which had been in use by the north Italians when Alboin overran the country in 568. However, it may well be supposed that during the long years in which building activity had been almost totally suspended, the masons had lost much of their skill.

There are extant no certain monuments of this period. The baptistery of S. Giovanni at Brescia has unfortunately been destroyed. In the church of S. Salvatore of Barzanò, I believe, however, we have a monument erected about this time.

I am led to assign the little church of Barzanò to this, it may seem, presumptuously early date principally by a *reductio ad absurdam*. The vague tradition which names Teodolinda as foundress merits no greater faith in this instance than in numerous others where the churches are manifestly many centuries later in date. But S. Salvatore of Barzanò refuses to fit in with what we know of the architectural characteristics of any later period, and as the development of architecture in Lombardy from the VIII century onward is very clearly and definitely established, I am forced to conclude that this monument was erected before the VIII century. In point of fact, it shows precisely the characteristics which it would be reasonable to expect in a church erected in the time of Teodolinda.

The type is essentially Byzantine (Plate 19, Fig. 2; Plate 20, Fig. 1, 2; Plate 21, Fig. 1, 2). The central dome, the screen-walls, the centralized plan find complete analogy in such

edifices as the chapel of S. Satiro adjoining the church of S. Ambrogio at Milan, or in the church of 554, fragments of which are extant in the sacristy of SS. Fortunato e Felice at Vicenza. It is true there is no apse, but the church at Barzanò formed part of the castle, and for this reason the architecture was made to conform to the necessities of the fortifications. On the other hand, the masonry is much cruder than in edifices erected in northern Italy before the Lombard invasion. The church therefore shows the persistence of the Byzantine type, together with a marked deterioration in the technique of building.

S. Salvatore of Barzanò at present serves as a baptistery, but it was probably originally built as a circular church. Before the Lombard invasion the centralized type of edifice had been used in northern Italy, both for baptisteries, as in S. Giovanni in Fonte of Ravenna, and in churches, as in S. Vitale of the same city. In the VIII century the circular church seems to have passed out of use in Lombardy.

CHAPTER II. BASILICAN CHURCHES, c. 600-774

Although the list of basilican churches erected in the time of the Lombard kings is almost as meagre as that of the circular churches which we have just examined, we can nevertheless form a clear conception of the characteristics of the style from the VIII century onward.[1] Of the ancient columnar basilica of S. Stefano at Pavia, which dated perhaps from the end of the VII century, we know that it possessed five aisles, and that the columns and capitals were pilfered from some Roman building. Numerous fragments, decorative rather than structural in character, clearly indicate a remarkable architectural renaissance during the reign of Luitprando. The extant capitals of the church of S. Pietro in Ciel d'Oro at Pavia, erected by this sovereign (Plate 177, Fig. 2), prove that the Lombard builders of the first half of the VIII century were capable of executing, when suitable ancient material was lacking, fine original capitals to crown the columns of their basilicas.

In the church of S. Giorgio di Valpolicella (Plate 197), the western half of which dates from c. 730, piers were substituted for columns. The church of S. Salvatore of Brescia, erected c. 760 by Desiderio, last of the Lombard kings, and his family, is justly famous. In structural forms the building (Plate 34, Fig. 1, 2, 3, 4; Plate 35, Fig. 1, 2, 3, 4; Plate 36, Fig. 1, 2, 5; Plate 37, Fig. 1) shows little advance over the Byzantine buildings erected at Ravenna in the VI century. The nave is extraordinarily wide (Plate 33), like that of S. Apollinare Nuovo. The apse internally has the form of a horse-shoe; externally it was probably polygonal.[2] The church is a columnar basilica, two rows of shafts—for the most part pilfered—sup-

[1] The fragments of the earlier church at S. Salvatore of Brescia are too meagre to merit mention.

[2] Like the apse of S. Piero in Dom of Brescia (Arcioni, 626).

porting ranges of simple arches. The capitals are in part pilfered, in part made for their position. The brick masonry is thoroughly Roman or Byzantine in character (Plate 35, Fig. 1). A notable feature of this church is the crypt, which was originally situated below the apse only, although in the XII century it was extended to the westward (Plate 33). The apse is not raised, but its floor was on a level, or nearly so, with that of the church. The crypt, therefore, partook of the character of a *confessio,* and is distinctly different from the crypts of later Lombard edifices which are placed only partly below the level of the ground, the choir being raised.

APPENDIX I. DEVELOPMENT OF THE APSE

Raised choirs were already known to the north Italian builders at the time S. Salvatore was erected. The earliest example which I know of this feature is to be found in the church of S. Apollinare in Classe of Ravenna. A raised choir is found also at S. Salvatore of Barzanò (Plate 19, Fig. 2; Plate 20, Fig. 1; Plate 21, Fig. 2), a monument which we have seen probably dates from the early time of the Lombard domination, but it is not certain in this case that the crypt is part of the original construction. In later times the raised choir became one of the most characteristic features of the Lombard basilica. At S. Vincenzo of Milan (Plate 134), an edifice erected c. 830, there is a raised choir and a large crypt which is not, as has been believed, a subsequent addition to the original construction, but is contemporary with the basilica itself. At Agliate (c. 875) there is a crypt very similar, though not so extensive, beneath the choir and central apse (Plate 8). There was undoubtedly a crypt and a raised choir at S. Quintino of Spigno, an authentically dated monument of 991.

A raised choir and an extensive crypt may be found in the cathedral of Ivrea, which dates from c. 1000; and there is a similar crypt beneath the choir and ambulatory of S. Stefano of Verona, a monument of c. 990 (Plate 222, Fig. 2). The now buried church of S. Salvatore at Turin, erected in 1006, had a

crypt and a raised choir; and those of S. Vincenzo at Galliano, built in the following year, are still extant (Plate 97; Plate 98). Part of the crypt of S. Pietro of Aequi (c. 1015-1023) may still be seen in the cellars of the shops which have been constructed in the eastern part of that edifice. During the XI and XII centuries the raised choir was so frequently used by the Lombard builders that it would be merely tedious to enumerate examples.[3] It is evident, therefore, that the motive of a raised choir was known as early as the VI century, and continued in use by the north Italian builders throughout the Romanesque period.

The depressed crypt of S. Salvatore of Brescia can not, therefore, be considered as a step in the evolution of the raised choir. It may be an echo of an earlier type of construction, or more probably it may have been merely the result of the fancy of the builders of this particular church. The choir of S. Savino of Piacenza (Plate 185), an authentically dated monument of 1107, is similarly not raised, although there is an extensive crypt. At S. Pietro di Civate in the mountains near Lecco, an edifice built c. 1040, we find a crypt similarly placed entirely below the level of the church. At S. Pietro di Civate, it is true, there is an evident reason for such a construction, since the church is built upon the slope of a mountain, so that one end had to be raised upon substructures. Advantage was taken of this fact to place the crypt beneath the lower end of the church.

Although Lombard basilicas were regularly provided with a crypt and raised choir, occasionally edifices were erected without crypts at all. The apse of S. Eustorgio at Milan, built c. 1000, originally possessed no crypt. The crypt of the cathedral of Piacenza, and probably also those of the cathedral of Cremona and of S. Ambrogio of Milan were added subsequently to the completion of these churches.

In early times the crypt was usually very small, extending only under the central apse. The crypt of S. Apollinare in

[3] Among the many that might be mentioned I shall cite only Oleggio (c. 1030)—Plate 160, Fig. 2, S. Vincenzo of Gravedona (1072), S. Giacomo of Bellagio (c. 1095), S. Giovanni in Borgo of Pavia (c. 1120), S. Maria del Popolo at Pavia (c. 1130), S. Zeno of Verona (Plate 226, Fig. 3), the cathedral of Modena (Plate 139), and S. Giovanni in Valle of Verona (1164)—Plate 218, Fig. 4.

Classe was of this type, as was also that of S. Salvatore of Brescia (Plate 33) until the latter was altered in the XII century. As time went on, however, crypts came to be enlarged so as to extend under the choir or the eastern bays of the nave. At S. Vincenzo of Milan, a monument which dates from c. 830 (Plate 134), and at Agliate, an edifice of c. 875 (Plate 8; Plate 9), may be found crypts of this stage of development. I know of no instance earlier than the year 1000 in which the crypt is made to extend beneath the side aisles of the choir or the absidioles. Even at Galliano—1007—(Plate 97; Plate 98) there is a crypt of archaic form. Soon, however, the crypt came to be extended beneath the absidioles, the side aisles of the choir, and even the transepts. An early example of a fully developed crypt may be found in the cathedral of Acqui, which was begun c. 1015 and consecrated in 1067. In later times such crypts are frequent. Suffice it to mention the cathedrals of Modena (Plate 139) and of Parma (1117), and the abbey of Nonantola (1121).

In Lombard basilicas the choir was not frequently deflected, as was so often the case in northern churches. There are, however, examples of this feature, such as the choirs of the cathedral of Piacenza, of the abbey of Ranverso and of the country churches of Casolino (c. 1040) and Pieve Trebbio (1108), all of which are bent notably to the north.

The horse-shoe form given in plan to the apse of S. Salvatore at Brescia (Plate 33) is without analogy, to the extent of my knowledge, in later Lombard edifices. Many variations were introduced in the apses, nevertheless, and some almost as striking and capricious as the horse-shoe plan found in the Brescian building. Thus, at S. Abondio of Como, a building which dates from c. 1115, niches very classical in character are introduced in the interior of the apse (Plate 62; Plate 63, Fig. 3). In the apse of S. Eustorgio of Milan, which preceded the existing one, erected c. 1000, there was, if the plan of the restorers may be trusted, an apse with a semicircular eastern absidiole. Such a construction may well have been the first step which, developed at S. Sofia of Padova, resulted in the formation of a regular

ambulatory. At Sagra S. Michele (c. 1175-c. 1200) the apse is trefoiled. A similar construction was erected c. 1080 at Lenno, as may be seen in the crypt, which is still extant. An analogous apse exists also at S. Maria del Tiglio of Gravedona. The apse of SS. Faustino e Giovita (c. 1140) on the Isola Comacina is subdivided into two equal absidioles. The parish church of SS. Vito e Modesto, at Badia di Calavena (Verona), is also divided into two parts.[4] This apse is masked externally, as are also the absidioles of S. Giacomo (c. 1105) and of S. Abondio (1095) of Como.[5] Apses square internally as well as externally were used principally in Cistercian edifices such as, for example, Chiaravalle della Colomba (c. 1145), or in churches erected under Cistercian influence, like Montechiarugolo (c. 1145) or Viboldone (1176). Before the coming of the Cistercians, however, a square apse, still extant, had been erected at Settimo Vittone (889). The square apse said to have been found amid the remains of an earlier church discovered beneath the pavement of Garbagnate Monastero must also have been built independently of any Cistercian influence, since the existing edifice, evidently much later, dates from c. 1120. At Isola della Scala a rectangular apse still extant was built in 1120.

It is almost certain that S. Salvatore of Brescia had only a single apse (Plate 33). Throughout the Romanesque period single apses continued to be erected occasionally, as, for example, S. Eustorgio of Milan—c. 1000—(Plate 127, Fig. 6), the older church of S. Giorgio di Valpolicella—c. 730—(Plate 197), S. Giovanni in Borgo of Pavia (c. 1120). More frequently, however, there were three apses, as at Agliate—c. 885—(Plate 8), the later church of S. Giorgio di Valpolicella—c. 1000—(Plate 197), S. Vincenzo of Galliano—1007—

[4] Behind the modern church are remains of the ancient construction, evidently dating from the XII century. The building is of a single aisle, and without decoration save for the arched corbel-tables of the campanile and the capitals. The apse is divided into two equal aisles by a column placed in the middle. Each aisle is barrel-vaulted. To the south is a rectangular, barrel-vaulted compartment. Compare with these constructions the two apses of Palazzolo (c. 1030).

[5] At S. Giacomo of Corneto (c. 1095) the absidioles are replaced by elliptical niches, not expressed externally. The stones of the dome are cut in false perspective to make the niches appear semicircular (Plate 68; Plate 70, Fig. 1).

(Plate 97), Sezzè (1030) and Castell'Arquato (1117-1122). At Montecchia di Crosara—c. 1000—(Plate 147, Fig. 2), at S. Pietro in Valle (c. 1005), and in the older church of Fontanella, there were three apses, although the naves were of a single aisle. The absidioles opened to the east of the projecting transepts. In the cathedral of Aosta, which dates from c. 1010, there were five apses, two being placed on the campanili which flanked the choir. In the cathedral of Acqui (c. 1015-1067) there were five apses, although the basilica had only three aisles. There was a similar arrangement at S. Fermo Maggiore of Verona (1065-1137). In Cistercian churches there were sometimes as many as seven apses, as, for example, at Chiaravalle della Colomba (c. 1145). At S. Nazaro of Milan, an edifice built 1075-c. 1093, but the plan of which is probably much older, at S. Sepolcro of Milan—1100—(Plate 133, Fig. 3), and in the cathedral of Parma (c. 1130-1150) there are apses at the ends of the transepts. The transept-ends of S. Fidele of Como (c. 1115) are polygonal and covered with a cloistered vault. The side aisles and the galleries are carried around like an ambulatory (Plate 62). The transepts of S. Giacomo, in the same city, covered with a cloistered vault carried on squinches, doubtless prepared the way for this construction. The apse of S. Fidele is also polygonal. The apse of Pieve Trebbio (1108) and the absidioles of S. Pietro at Acqui (c. 1015-1023) are similarly polygonal (Plate 5, Fig. 1). These outside the apses of Brescia already studied are the only examples of polygonal apses erected during the Romanesque period in northern Italy that I know.

Double apses—that is to say, two apses placed opposite each other, one at either end of the church—occur at S. Pietro di Civate—c. 1040—(Plate 56, Fig. 1, 2), and at S. Giorgio di Valpolicella—c. 760 and c. 1000—(Plate 197), but in the latter case this disposition is the result of alterations and the reversal of orientation.

APPENDIX II. PILFERED MATERIALS

It has been remarked that S. Salvatore of Brescia is constructed very largely of pilfered columns and capitals. It is a

well known fact that, as early as the time of Constantine, architects had been accustomed to take building material from ancient edifices whenever available. Not only was this more economical than sculpturing new shafts and capitals, but the ancient Roman fragments were executed with a fineness of technique which the artists of decadent times were unable to equal. It was therefore doubtless felt that ancient columns and capitals were not only more economical but more beautiful than any which could be executed. It hence became the general custom to construct buildings of fragments of old material. New seems to have been procured only in cases where nothing old was available.

Without doubt Roman buildings formed the favourite and most prized quarries from which to extract columns, capitals, bits of decorative carving, and even stone blocks. Pilfered Roman columns were used in the basilica of S. Stefano at Pavia, erected perhaps c. 680. Pilfered Roman materials are also used exclusively for the supports of the basilica of Agliate—c. 875—(Plate 8). The columns of the baptistery of Novara, erected c. 900, are Roman. In the eastern half of S. Giorgio di Valpolicella, a monument built c. 1000 (Plate 197), the pilfered Roman columns, which were evidently not enough in number to go around, were pieced out with rectangular piers. Pilfered Roman columns are used in the crypt of Montecchia di Crosara, which dates from about the same time, and in the crypt of the cathedral of Aosta—1010—(Plate 12, Fig. 2). Later examples of the use of pilfered Roman fragments may be found in the cathedral of Aversa (c. 1078), at S. Pietro of Bologna (c. 1095), at S. Lorenzo of Verona (c. 1110), in the crypt of Cemmo (c. 1110), in the cathedral of Parma (1117), in the cathedral of Novara (c. 1125), at S. Vittore of Arsago (c. 1130), at S. Zeno di Castelletto (c. 1135), and in numerous other instances which might be cited. Towards the end of the XII century, the practice became increasingly rare, probably partly because the supply of Roman materials was exhausted and partly because the builders were able to execute new material, in their judgment equal, if not superior, to that of the ancients.

The Lombard builders pilfered not only Roman materials.

Edifices of the Byzantine period were frequently plundered as well. The Chiesa d'Aurona of Milan, erected c. 735, appears to have been built entirely of pilfered Byzantine fragments. At S. Salvatore of Brescia certain capitals (Plate 36, Fig. 2; Plate 35, Fig. 2) are taken from a Byzantine edifice. Pilfered Byzantine material may also be found in the crypt of the Duomo Vecchio of Brescia—c. 780—(Plate 31, Fig. 1, 3), at S. Vincenzo of Milan—c. 830—(Plate 137, Fig. 1, 3), at S. Satiro of Milan—876—(Plate 132, Fig. 6), in the crypt of S. Giovanni of Asti (885), at S. Sofia of Padova, and at S. Giovanni in Fonte of Verona (1123).

The Lombard builders did not hesitate to use over again even fragments of the Carlovingian epoch, no matter how crudely executed, if such happened to be available. An early example of such a practice is afforded by the ambulatory of S. Stefano at Verona—c. 990—(Plate 222, Fig. 2). In the XII century church of Isola S. Giulio, Carlovingian capitals are used to form the responds of the side aisles (Plate 100, Fig. 10). Such constructions are frequently very puzzling to date, as it is natural to assume that the capitals are contemporary with the edifice. A careful study, however, is sufficient to solve the enigma, even when, as at S. Sepolcro of Bologna or S. Tommaso of Almenno S. Bartolomeo, the pilfered capitals were executed only a few years before the construction of the edifice in which they were used second-hand.

APPENDIX III. WINDOWS

Unfortunately there are no data to determine how the clearstory of S. Salvatore was arranged, since this part of the edifice has been completely modernized. From what we know of the treatment of the clearstory and of windows in various other churches of earlier and later date, however, it is possible to surmise how the windows were treated. It will be remembered that in Early Christian times the clearstory windows had been filled with stone tracery, the openings of which were in all probability filled with little pieces of glass. Now, this tradition persisted through-

out the Lombard period, and although the tracery has almost invariably been broken, there is no doubt it existed in several Lombard churches. The best examples are the crypt windows of Lenno, dating from c. 1080. One of the apse windows of Albugnano (Plate 10, Fig. 2) also still preserves its tracery in part. Of what beautiful development this motive was capable we realize from the windows of S. Gregorio of Bari (Plate 10, Fig. 1), or of the cathedral of Ruvo (Plate 10, Fig. 4), churches of Apulia erected under strong Lombard influence. At Brusasco an oculus has tracery in the form of a Greek cross (c. 1130). It is therefore entirely possible that the windows of S. Salvatore may have been filled with stone tracery.

During the Romanesque period, however, not all windows had stone tracery. There were, in fact, two other ways in which glass may have been set in. In Byzantine times large windows had been glazed by means of wooden frames, dividing the surface into rectangular fields sufficiently small to hold each a single pane of glass of the size which could then be manufactured. Presumably this glass was not coloured. That windows of this type continued to be used in the Carlovingian period, and even in the XI and XII centuries in northern Italy, is entirely probable, although there is nothing to prove it. The perishable character of wood, and the many reconstructions to which Lombard edifices have been subject sufficiently explain why no windows of this type have come down to us. In other instances it is probable that the windows were filled with small, circular pieces of glass, red or blue in colour, fastened together by leading. Traces of glazing of this type were discovered at S. Abondio of Como, and are known to have existed in several edifices of the XIII century. There is no evidence to show when such windows came to be used. The fact that traces of it were found at S. Vincenzo of Galliano, however, would lead us to suppose that this method of glazing was practised at least as early as the beginning of the XI century. Coloured glass was certainly known in the VII century.[6] I do not believe that figured glass was introduced into northern Italy

[6] Isidore of Seville, *Etymologiarum*, XVI, 16, ed. Migne, *Pat. Lat.*, LXXXII, 582; Merzario, I, 88.

before the XIII century. There is no reason to suppose that the stained glass which once filled the windows of the cathedral of Modena was of the XII century.

However the glazing was accomplished, windows which were intended to be protected against the weather by some vitreous substance are found in monuments of northern Italy of all epochs, and are clearly to be distinguished from windows which were not glazed by their larger size, and often by the absence of splaying.[7] Windows of this type may be found at S. Vincenzo of Milan—c. 830—(Plate 135, Fig. 1, 2, 3, 4), at Agliate (c. 875), at S. Fedelino, Lago di Mezzola—c. 1000—(Plate 102, Fig. 1), at S. Vincenzo of Galliano—1007—(Plate 99, Fig. 1), at the baptistery of Galliano—c. 1015—(Plate 96, Fig. 1),[8] at S. Pietro of Acqui (c. 1015-1023), at Lodi Vecchio (c. 1050), at S. Michele of Pavia—c. 1100—(Plate 173, Fig. 5), at the Duomo Vecchio of Brescia—c. 1105—(Plate 31, Fig. 7), at S. Giacomo of Como (c. 1105), at S. Fedele of Como—c. 1115—(Plate 64, Fig. 4), at the cathedral of Cremona (1129-1141), at Cerreto—c. 1140—(Plate 52, Fig. 3), at the cathedral of Parma (1162), at Vezzolano—1189—(Plate 235, Fig. 2), and in many other instances that might be named. In fact, glazed windows seem always to have been preferred and to have been used whenever the luxury could be afforded.

Windows which served without glass were given an entirely different form, which can be quickly recognized. In order not to allow the rain and wind to enter the building, the size of the aperture was greatly contracted, so as to be frequently only two or three inches wide. These slit-like openings often look more like the embrasure of a fortification than a window. In order that the greatest possible quantity of light might be admitted through an opening of the minimum size, the walls were widely splayed. When windows of this type first came to be used it would be difficult to say. The earliest example which I can name is in the

[7] Widely splayed windows intended to be glazed are found at S. Carpoforo of Como—c. 1028-1040—(Plate 60, Fig. 4, 5).

[8] Some of the windows of this building were unglazed.

church of S. Giorgio di Valpolicella, which dates from c. 730. In later times many instances are found, such as, for example, S. Giovanni of Vigolo Marchese (1008), Cavriana (c. 1025), S. Sepolcro of Milan—1030—(Plate 133, Fig. 2), S. Benedetto of S. Pietro di Civate (c. 1045), Sasso—c. 1050—(Plate 205, Fig. 2), S. Severo of Bardolino (c. 1050), S. Vincenzo of Gravedona—1072—(Plate 100, Fig. 5), Cosio (1078), the baptistery of Lenno—1085—(Plate 102, Fig. 2), S. Giacomo of Bellagio (c. 1095), certain windows of S. Maria di Castello, Corneto—1121—(Plate 75), Agrate Conturbia—c. 1125—(Plate 10, Fig. 3), S. Maria del Solario of Brescia (c. 1130), Cascina S. Trinità—c. 1130—(Plate 50, Fig. 2), Cortazzone d'Asti—c. 1150—(Plate 82, Fig. 4) and Castell'Alfero (c. 1155). When unglazed windows were used it was desirable to place these windows so that as much light as possible and as little wind and rain would enter the edifice. Accordingly, the windows were often placed all on the south side of the edifice, as at S. Sofia of Padova (c. 1106-1123). Other utilitarian considerations often governed the spacing of the windows. In the cathedral of Acqui, the clearstory windows were introduced into only every other bay, doubtless in order that the window surface might be reduced. At Fontanella—c. 1130—(Plate 92) the clearstory was omitted altogether, probably to make the church warmer. At S. Ambrogio of Milan the clearstory was also omitted. Irregularity of spacing occurs constantly in the windows of Lombard edifices, and is to be explained by a variety of considerations, partly utilitarian—such as the desire to avoid direct cross-draughts—partly æsthetic—such as the wish to avoid the monotony of formal symmetry.[9]

Small windows were frequently surmounted by arcuated lintels as, for example, at Bedero Valtravaglia, Fontanella, Monastero di Capo di Ponte (Plate 146, Fig. 2), Cemmo and Cortazzone d'Asti (Plate 82, Fig. 4). Arcuated lintels with a stone joint at the summit of the arch are found at Monastero di Provaglio and Careno.

[9] Notable example at Panico.

APPENDIX IV. SEPARATION OF SEXES

It is certain that from early times the sexes were separated in the church. The constitutions of S. Clemente explicitly state that the women shall sit by themselves in silence.[10] What portions of the basilica were assigned to the women and what to the men has been much discussed. Many archæologists believe that the women were relegated to the galleries which, indeed, have been given the name *matroneum* in accordance with this theory. There is no proof, however, that such was the case,[11] and the fact that a great many churches were built without galleries would seem to indicate that the supposition is erroneous. A text of the Anonimo Ticinese makes it evident that in the XIV century the north side of the church was considered as belonging to the men, the south side to the women.[12] It is probable that at this epoch there was erected a screen running the length of the nave and dividing it into two parts. To the north of this screen were placed the men, to the south, the women.[13] This ancient practice still survives occasionally in Lombardy, and I have several times seen congregations in which the men and women were divided in this manner. It is probably a survival of the old tradition, and I conjecture that from very early times the sexes were separated, not by relegating the women to the gallery, but by placing them on the south side of the church.

[10] *καὶ πρῶτον μὲν ὁ οἶκος ἔστω ἐπιμήκης, κατ᾽ ἀνατολὰς τετραμμένος, ἐξ ἑκατέρων τῶν μερῶν τὰ παστοφόρια πρὸς ἀνατολὴν, ὅς τις ἔοικε νηΐ. κείσθω δὲ μέσος ὁτοῦ ἐπισκόπου θρόνος, παρ᾽ ἑκάτερα δὲ αὐτοῦ καθεζέσθω τὸ πρεσβυτέριον, καὶ οἱ διάκονοι παριστάσθωσαν εὐσταλεῖς τῆς πλείονος ἐσθῆτος· ἐοίκασι γὰρ ναύταις καὶ τοιχάρχοις . . . . καὶ αἱ γυναῖκες κεχωρισμένως καὶ αὐταὶ καθεξέσθωσαν, σιωπὴν ἄχνυσαι.* (S. Clementis I. Rom. Pont., *Constitutiones Apostolicæ*, Lib. II, Cap. LVII).

[11] The description of S. Sepolcro of Milan in the XI century contained in the life of S. Arialdo (this passage is quoted below, Vol. II, p. 646) makes it evident that the men and women were separated, and that the women were not in the galleries, since otherwise they would have been able to look over the choir-screen.

[12] Et est sciendum, quòd visitantes Altaria, & areas Sanctorum Corporum, præsertim BB. Confessorum Syri, & Augustini, qui sunt in Cryptis Ecclesiarum, semper stant ab Aquilone viri, & à Meridie mulieres proter honestatem (Anonymi Ticinensis, *De Laudibus Papiae*, XVII, ed. Muratori, R. I. S., XI, 36). See also text cited below, under S. Maria del Popolo of Pavia, Vol. III, p. 191.

[13] A screen of this type is said to have until recently existed at Sommacampagna.

CHAPTER III. CIRCULAR CHURCHES
774-c. 900

In the year 774 the kingdom of the Lombards came to an end. Desiderio, the last king, was conquered and driven into exile by the victorious Charlemagne and his Franks. From this moment Lombardy ceased to be an independent kingdom, and became merely an outlying province loosely united with the Holy Roman Empire.

The Carlovingian conquest produced no such cataclysm in the domain of architecture as the Lombard invasion had brought about. Charlemagne, the staunch ally of the pope, favoured and protected the churches and monasteries as devoutly as had done the later Lombard sovereigns. If occasionally, as in the instance of S. Salvatore at Brescia, we find him inclined to punish religious establishments too closely connected with the interests of the deposed dynasty, on the other hand, his anger was of short duration, and the possessions taken away from the Brescian abbey were subsequently restored. Among the earliest laws promulgated by the Franks—indeed, it was issued before the year 800—was one which specified that churches and monasteries should be repaired.

The effects of the Carlovingian conquest upon architecture were, therefore, positive and creative, not negative and destructive like those of the Lombard invasion. It is well known that Charlemagne was so impressed by the monuments of architecture which he saw in Italy that he determined to erect in his own capital at Aix-la-Chapelle a church which should rival in its magnificence the sumptuous edifices he had seen in the South. The result was his famous chapel at Aachen, which still stands to bear witness to the skill of the emperor's builders. This structure is obviously a slightly modified copy of S. Vitale at Ravenna.

Few edifices ever erected have so profoundly impressed the world, or left so indelible a mark upon the history of architecture as the chapel at Aix. Contemporary historians speak of it repeatedly and at length, and long centuries afterwards the fame of the edifice echoes through the *Chanson de Roland,* embellished by the same poetry and the same legendary imagination that have so beautified the figure of the emperor himself.[1] A building which created such lively interest could not fail to be widely imitated; and in fact we find traces of the influence of the chapel at Aix throughout Europe. Some buildings, like Nymwegen, were copied so exactly from the temple of Charlemagne that their genealogy is at once evident. In others, like Mettlach or Hereford, we might be inclined to doubt the influence of Aix-la-Chapelle were it not explicitly vouched for by contemporary historians. The one feature common to nearly all the edifices derived from Charlemagne's chapel is the centralized plan. Until the XI century circular churches continued in prime favour north as well as south of the Alps, a fact in which we may trace the continued influence of Aix.

In the church of Germigny-les-Prés (Plate 131, Fig. 3), erected between 801 and 806, and in imitation—as we know from documentary sources—of the chapel at Aix-la-Chapelle, we find a new type of building that was to become common during the IX century. The elaborate dispositions of Aix-la-Chapelle have been much simplified. The church is square instead of octagonal in plan. The nave is separated from the side aisles by four, instead of by eight, piers. The galleries have been omitted, but the high clearstory over the central area has been retained. The vaults of the nave and of the central bays of the side aisles are higher than those of the end bays of the side aisles.

This type of building, derived from Aix-la-Chapelle, spread rapidly to Spain[2] and Italy.[3] In fact, such edifices became

[1] *Chanson de Roland,* IV, 51-77, ed. Geddes, p. 5; ed. Gautier, p. 9. *Ibid.,* LVIII, 725; CCXI, 2917.

[2] S. Miguel de Lino. See Alfred Demiani, *Oviedo, die Hauptstadt der Könige von Asturien,* in *Zeitschrift für bildende Kunst,* 46. Jahrgang, Neue Folge, Band XXII, April, 1911, Heft 7, 156.

[3] As early as the middle of the VII century the influence of northern architecture

exceedingly characteristic of the Carlovingian architecture of northern Italy. With the single exception of Settimo Vittone, all the circular buildings of the IX century in that region which have come down to us are of this peculiar type, that is to say, S. Zeno of Bardolino.[4] SS. Tosca e Teuteria at Verona (Plate 223, Fig. 1, 2, 3) and S. Satiro of Milan (Plate 129; Plate 130; Plate 131, Fig. 2). In the cloister of the ancient convent of S. Maria Teodota, or della Pustola, at Pavia, there is extant a chapel of this type. The actual building, it is true, has been completely modernized, but it is altogether probable that the plan dates from the IX century. In southern Italy edifices of this same type, and dating from the IX century, may be found in S. Costanzo on the island of Capri (Plate 131, Fig. 1) and La Cuba at Moia, Sicily.[5]

The influence of Aix-la-Chapelle continued to be exerted even until the XII century. De Dartein has already remarked that the transept-ends of S. Fedele at Como are clearly copied from the famous edifice of Charlemagne, even to the details of the vaulting.

The north Italian builders introduced into the type of edifice derived from the North certain characteristics traditional in their own style. At S. Zeno of Bardolino we find blind arches

had begun to permeate into Italy, to judge from the following text: Videns Stephanus papa ex omni parte victor esset, et gloria dignitatis presule hac gentis Romane triumphans, ccpit hedificare domum ecclesiam, in onore Sancti Dionisii, Rustici et Helcutherii, in hurbe Roma, iuxta via Flamminea, et ereio non longe ab Agusto, iuxta formas species decorata, sicut in Francia viderat (Benedicti, *Chronicon*, ed. Troya, VI, 11).

[4] At S. Zeno of Bardolino the columns stand against the wall, and the plan becomes cruciform.

[5] La Cuba stands in the fields about a kilometre to the north-east of the town of Moia (Messina), several hundred metres from the mule-path that leads to Malvagna. Since this important monument has never been published and is in danger of destruction, I shall give a brief description of it. The plan is very similar to that of Germigny-les-Prés, that is to say, there is a square central area, from three sides of which open semicircular niches. The fourth, or north side, perhaps originally had also an apse, but has been rebuilt. Arched squinches are employed to work the square of the central area to an octagon, and this in turn is brought to the shape of a circular dome, wooden beams being in part employed to smooth the transition. The exceedingly small dimensions of the monument make this construction possible. The dome was masked externally by the continuation of the walls of the cube. The masonry consists of coarse rubble laid in thick mortar. The dome internally still bears traces of intonaco.

and screen-walls of the Byzantine type precisely as at Barzanò. Semicircular niches are introduced into the cupola of SS. Tosca e Teuteria, a mannerism evidently derived from Roman buildings, and which we shall find persisting even until the XII century.

CHAPTER IV. BASILICAN CHURCHES
774-c. 900

It is by no means as easy to trace the influence of the Carlovingian conquest in buildings of basilican type as in circular edifices. If I am right in supposing that the now destroyed church of S. Apollinare at Baggio, near Milan, was built in the last quarter of the VIII century, it would appear that the basilicas erected immediately after the year 774 were of the type already familiar to us in S. Salvatore of Brescia.[1] The earliest extant basilica built after the Carlovingian conquest is S. Vincenzo in Prato of Milan, erected c. 830 (Plate 134). This is a columnar edifice quite like S. Salvatore of Brescia, except that the masonry is of different quality, the crypt more extended, and there were three apses semicircular in plan (Plate 135, Fig. 4).

S. Pietro at Agliate, built c. 875, shows a notable advance (Plate 8). The apse is preceded by a barrel-vaulted bay, or choir. The corresponding bays of the side aisle are covered by domed groin vaults (Plate 5, Fig. 2). These vaults have been restored, but in all probability correctly.

A quarter of a century later were built the nave and transept of S. Stefano at Verona (Plate 223, Fig. 5). In this edifice piers were substituted for columns, as had already been done in

[1] The church at Baggio has been studied by Mongeri, Seletti, Clericetti (VII) and Giulini (II, 369). The history of the edifice is a puzzling mass of contradictions from which no certain conclusion can be drawn. There is a tradition that the church was founded by Alexander II in 1041, but the style of the architecture would seem to indicate that the building destroyed in 1873 was much older. Neither is it possible to identify this church with the basilica referred to in a letter published by Giulini (VII, 67) as constructed in 1004. In the Museo Archeologico of Milan are still preserved two columns, two Corinthian capitals and one base coming from this church and bearing the numbers 2344-2346. The drawings made of the church before its destruction have disappeared. The building had suffered much from baroccoization in the XVII century, when the ancient clearstory had been walled up and the church covered with a roof of continuous slope. It was a three-aisled basilica, with three rectangular apses, of which the two at the sides had niches. The structure was exceedingly unsymmetrical and the columns all pilfered.

the western bays of S. Giorgio di Valpolicella (Plate 197). All told, we may conclude that the Carlovingian conquest affected basilican churches less vitally than it did either circular churches or carved ornament. None the less the IX century witnessed an important advance in the introduction of vaults and side aisles in the choir of Agliate.

Another important feature, of which the earliest extant example dates from this period, although it is far from being certain that it was a novelty, is the campanile. The southern tower of S. Ambrogio at Milan, known as the Campanile dei Monaci, was built c. 800 (Plate 120, Fig. 7). The upper part has been denatured, since the existing top story is modern. There is no doubt, however, that the tower originally terminated in a belfry with bifora on each face, that is to say, although very low, it possessed all the essential features of the developed Lombard campanile.

APPENDIX. CAMPANILI

In connection with the campanile of S. Ambrogio it should be remembered that it is quite uncertain at what epoch the custom of building a tower for bells first came into use. According to a picturesque legend bells were introduced by St. Paul himself.[2] At any event, there is good reason to believe that they were employed as early as the IV century, although there are no documents, to the extent of my knowledge, to prove that bell-towers were erected before the VIII century.[3] It is generally conceded that the earliest campanili extant are the circular towers of Ravenna, but it is unfortunately by no means easy to establish at what date these structures were erected. The masonry is of totally different character from that of the churches to which they belong,[4] and is without analogy among the extant

[2] *Chronicon Imaginis Mundi,* ed. *Hist. Pat. Mon.,* V, 1363.

[3] See the authorities cited in my *Mediæval Architecture,* I, 81-82, note; also Castiglione, 43; *Annales Bertiniani,* ed. Muratori, R. I. S., II, 534.

[4] This can not be explained by supposing that masonry of different character was employed contemporaneously in a lofty construction like the campanile, and in the church where static conditions were different. The masonry of the stair-towers of

monuments of the VI century in Ravenna. It is generally believed that the campanile of S. Apollinare in Classe is the earliest of all the bell-towers, because the bricks are thick, that is to say, of the Lombard, and not of the Byzantine, type. This masonry is very crude, and a band of *opus reticulatum* is introduced.

Now, the fact that this masonry is less classical than that of the campanili of S. Apollinare Nuovo and of the cathedral, leads me to suppose not that it is earlier, but that it is later, than the latter. We have seen at S. Salvatore of Brescia that masonry of the Byzantine type persisted as late as the third quarter of the VIII century, whereas in the Campanile dei Monaci of S. Ambrogio we have masonry with thick bricks, erected c. 800 (Plate 118, Fig. 4). Now, the campanile of S. Apollinare in Classe seems to fall between these two, or c. 775. The campanile of the cathedral, which is more regular, and quite Byzantine in style, is certainly earlier, and that of S. Apollinare Nuovo is the earliest of all. It is difficult, however, to assign a date to these two edifices, because so little is known of the development of masonry at Ravenna during the VI and VII centuries. I do not believe that the campanile of S. Apollinare Nuovo can be earlier than c. 650. The remaining campanili of Ravenna are of minor interest. That of S. Francesco at first sight seems to have Byzantine masonry, but a careful inspection suffices to show that it was rebuilt in the XI century with pilfered materials. The same remark applies to the campanile of S. Giovanni Evangelista. Circular campanili were evidently a peculiar feature of the local style of Ravenna, and continued to be erected there after the square type had come into use elsewhere. Proofs of this fact are supplied by the cylindrical campanili of S. Maria Maggiore, S. Giovanni Battista and S. Agata, all much later than the monuments we have been studying, and the latter,

S. Vitale is entirely similar to that of the church. Moreover, if the campanile and churches were contemporary, the walls of the campanile would be better than those of the church, since they had to support a greater weight. Now, in point of fact, the reverse is the case. The campanili of S. Apollinare Nuovo and S. Apollinare in Classe are built of masonry rougher than that of the churches, and the campanile of the cathedral is more crudely constructed than is the baptistery.

indeed, of the Renaissance. The campanili of S. Giovanni di Paolo and S. Vittore have a square base, but are cylindrical in the upper part.[5] In the citadel of Brescia there is extant a circular tower which looks very much like the Ravenna campanili, but it does not appear to be earlier than the VIII century.[6]

Towers which served for other purposes than bells had been added to churches as early as the Byzantine period. The façade of S. Vitale of Ravenna was flanked by two such towers containing the stairs leading to the galleries, and the church of S. Lorenzo at Milan probably possessed similar towers from a very early epoch.

The Campanile dei Monaci of S. Ambrogio is the only extant example of a campanile of the IX century in Lombardy. S. Savino of Piacenza retains notable portions of its campanile, dating from 903, and there is no doubt that a campanile rose in the south-east angle of the nave at S. Vincenzo of Galliano (1007). There are extant innumerable examples of campanili of the XI and XII centuries.

In certain instances the campanile was made polygonal instead of cylindrical or square. A notable example is S. Pietro of Acqui (Plate 5, Fig. 1), a monument which dates from c. 1015-1023. The central towers of S. Antonino of Piacenza, built in 1179 (Plate 182, Fig. 5), of Morimondo (Plate 154, Fig. 4), and of Monastero di Provaglio (Plate 146, Fig. 2), are all octagonal. The tower of S. Caterina at Asti is polygonal.

Probably from very early times campanili had occasionally been joined to the churches to which they belonged. It is probable that the tower of S. Savino of Piacenza, built in 1005, was attached to the old basilica precisely as it is to the existing structure, that is to say, it rose over the eastern bay of the southern side aisle. It was an easy step to erect a second tower, balancing the first, and placed in a symmetrical position in the other side aisle. The result would be two campanili flanking the apse, and this in fact we find is a characteristic arrangement in the larger churches of Savoie, French as well as Italian. The

[5] The campanile of S. Vittore was rebuilt in 1907.

[6] A cylindrical campanile was erected at late as c. 1155 at Castell'Alfero.

campanili of the cathedral of Ivrea (Plate 101, Fig. 2, 5) were laid out in this manner as early as c. 1000. Those of the cathedral of Aosta (Plate 12, Fig. 4) were begun about ten years later. In Emilia this disposition continued to be copied as late as 1207 at Borgo S. Donnino. The twin campanili flanking the choir of S. Abondio of Como, an edifice consecrated in 1095, foreshadow so strongly the two similar towers of the later abbey of Morienval in the Soissonnais, that it is tempting to trace a direct connection between the two. (Compare Plate 58, Fig. 2, with Plate 58, Fig. 1).

It is uncertain when twin towers flanking the western façade first came into use. Circular western towers with stairways leading to the galleries were built at S. Lorenzo, Verona, as early as c. 1110 (Plate 219, Fig. 1), and at Isola S. Giulio some ten years later. This construction merely repeated a plan tried much earlier by the Byzantine builders at S. Vitale of Ravenna. During the XII century twin campanili flanking the façade were either planned or erected at S. Giacomo of Como (c. 1105) and in the cathedrals of Novara, Piacenza and Parma. It is almost certain, however, that this disposition was derived from the North. Even in the first half of the XII century, twin towers flanking the façade had been planned in the abbey of Jumièges in Normandy. The motive was soon widely adopted and repeated in Norman edifices such as the two great abbeys of Caen. In France, the construction was doubtless evolved in order to solve a problem of practical design, that was to avoid the somewhat awkward lines which result if the section of the basilica is preserved in the façade. The towers erected over the side aisles remove this awkwardness. In the Italian examples this reason for the introduction of campanili flanking the façade did not exist. The Lombards had already solved, in a manner which seems to us much less satisfactory, but which doubtless pleased them better, the problem of a façade. A blank masking wall was erected by means of which the façade was given the appearance of belonging to a church of a single aisle. Now, when the Lombards adopted the campanili flanking the façade, they retained this old false gable, and placed the towers, not over the

side aisles, but outside of the façade. The result was, therefore, still further to falsify the structural lines of the building, and to obtain an effect of imposing width at the expense of the Lamp of Truth (Plate 157; Plate 158; Plate 166, Fig. 3; Plate 120, Fig. 6, 7). Very rarely, as in the cathedral of Piacenza (Plate 182, Fig. 3), the campanili would have risen inside of the lines of the side aisles; but even in these instances, the false gable of the façade was retained. The one edifice which forms an exception to all these remarks and which constitutes the sole claim of the Lombard builders to have originated the motive of towers flanking the façade, is the church of S. Sepolcro at Milan (Plate 133, Fig. 5), the twin towers of which were planned in the fourth decade of the XI century. Owing to modernizations, however, it is impossible to determine exactly what were the original dispositions of this church, and in just what relation to the original structure the campanili stood.

In the cathedral of Modena there are turrets flanking the façade and the choir (Plate 140, Fig. 1, 3), and at Casale also the façade of the narthex is flanked by two stair towers. In the cathedral of Borgo S. Donnino two towers flanking the façade were begun in 1207.

Campanili were occasionally attached to other parts of the building. A central tower over the crossing is characteristic of Cistercian and Cluniac edifices.[7] Towers were, however, erected over the cupolas at Casale in 1107 (Plate 45, Fig. 1), and S. Fermo di Sopra, c. 1125, while a similar disposition appears to have existed at S. Antonino of Piacenza (Plate 182, Fig. 5). A bizarre arrangement is the campanile surmounting the baptistery at S. Ponzo Canavese (Plate 203, Fig. 4). The campanile is placed over the eastern bay of the southern side aisle at Crescenzago—c. 1190—(Plate 87, Fig. 2), and at Viboldone (Plate 239, Fig. 1) it rises over the choir.

A development of the motive of campanili is probably to be found in the turrets, circular, diamond-shaped or polygonal,

[7] See, for example, Fontanella al Monte—c. 1130—(Plate 93, Fig. 3), Chiaravalle Milanese (Plate 54, Fig. 1) and Cerreto (Plate 52, Fig. 1). The central tower of S. Pietro in Valle—c. 1005—(Plate 203, Fig. 2) proves, however, that this motive was native in Lombardy.

which form a characteristic feature of the design of the cathedral of Cremona (Plate 84, Fig. 1) and to a lesser extent of that of Modena (Plate 140, Fig. 3).

About the middle of the XI century a peculiar type of campanile appears in Lombardy. The tower is made extremely broad, and height is frequently sacrificed to the effect of width and massiveness. The campanili of the cathedral of Novara (c. 1040) and of Sannazzaro Sesia—1040—(Plate 201, Fig. 1, 2) are of this type, as are also the campanili of S. Stefano of Ivrea (1041) and of the cathedral of Susa (c. 1035). The towers of S. Benigno[8] (c. 1050) and of the abbey of Pomposa—the latter an authentically dated monument of 1063—are similar. At Cosio there was erected in 1078 a low, broad campanile with a groined vault in the lower story. The tower is surmounted by a hollow stone pyramid. In this design we are perhaps justified in finding a combination of influences derived partly from towers of the type we have just described, partly from northern sources.

A few campanili deserve mention for individual peculiarities of design. The bell-tower of Castell'Alfero is supported on squinches corbelled out at the south-east angle of the church (c. 1155). The campanile of Mucono is oblong in plan, two faces being broad and two narrow. The campanile erected at Montechiaro d'Asti (c. 1140) has sloping walls (Plate 148, Fig. 3). At Loppia di Bellagio is a very charming tower, a model of lightness and grace. The finest campanile in all northern Italy, however, is perhaps that of S. Bartolomeo of Villa d'Ossola, built c. 1110 (Plate 240, Fig. 4).

[8] Of the famous abbey of S. Maria di Fruttuaria only this campanile remains. For historical notices, see *Chronicon Abbatiæ Fructuariensis*, ed. Calligaris; Arnulphi, *Hist. Med.*, 1, 16, ed. Muratori, R. I. S., IV, 13; *Hist. Pat. Mon.*, I, 362, 414, 428, 434, 438; Tomassetti, I, 487; Boggio, 30 f., etc.

CHAPTER V. CIRCULAR CHURCHES

c. 900-c. 1000

In the X century the art of architecture sank in Lombardy to the lowest depths which it was destined to reach throughout the Middle Ages. It is true we know little of the buildings, if any, erected immediately after the Lombard invasion. But what we know of the architecture of the VIII century fully justifies the inference that never, even in the hour of the barbarian invasions, was the art of construction so slovenly, the technique of carving so debased, the sense of design so lost, as it was during the X century. Many monuments which date from this period have been habitually and persistently assigned by archæologists to earlier times, usually the VIII century, simply because they were believed to be too uncouth to have been executed in any other time; that is to say, the Lombard invasion is considered to have marked the lowest point in the decline of art, and it has been believed that from the VIII to the XI century there was a steady and continued improvement. The fallacy of this hypothesis is easily demonstrated. Numerous authentically dated monuments of the age of Luitprando—which will be discussed in their proper place under the section of ornament—clearly demonstrate that the VIII century, instead of being a time of exceptional decline, was, in point of fact, a time of exceptional technical excellence as regards architectural production. The high standard of technique of the middle of the VIII century is surpassed by nothing that has come down to us executed after the Lombard invasion and before the year 1000. Indeed, it is evident that the entire IX century, instead of being an age of improvement, was an age of decline, at first gradual, then precipitate. This decline reached its point of greatest intensity in the first half of the X century.

Reasons for this decline are not difficult to find. The belief

that the world would come to an end in the year 1000 may have played some part, although not so important a one as has been believed.[1] More important were the political disorders consequent upon the disintegration of the Carlovingian empire. Northern Italy was distracted by civil war, and sacked by barbarians. The Saracens penetrated into Piemonte and Emilia. The Hungarians overran Lombardy and Emilia, plundering and devastating, destroying especially monasteries and ecclesiastical establishments.[2]

The circular edifices of this period are of a type which departs widely from the Carlovingian centralized structure so popular in the IX century. Among the earliest and also the most typical are the baptisteries of Settimo Vittone—889—(Plate 206, Fig. 2) and Agliate (Plate 5, Fig. 5, 6; Plate 6; Plate 7), the latter a nine-sided structure of a single aisle, with apse and cloistered vault. This is as crude and uncouth a building as can be found in northern Italy, and demonstrates admirably the decadence of technique at this period. The baptistery of Novara, which is about contemporary, appears to be somewhat better (Plate 156, Fig. 3), but this is only because the building has been much restored and patched over in later times. The plan (Plate 156, Fig. 2) seems to have been copied from some Roman monument. The structure is octagonal externally, but internally there are niches alternately rectangular and semicircular and separated by free-standing columns. Plans of this type were frequently repeated in later architecture. The baptistery of Agrate Conturbia (Plate 10, Fig. 3, 5), which was originally erected c. 930, but was rebuilt c. 1125, has similarly niches rectangular or elliptical. Rectangular and semicircular niches appear also in the baptisteries of S. Ponzo Canavese

[1] See *The History of Joseph the Carpenter,* XXVI, tr. Cowper, 120.

[2] DCCCXCIX. Ungari Italiam ingressi. . . . Bellum in Ungaros, & Christianos in Italia ad Parentum, & Castelli capti sunt. DCCCC Zuentibulcus rex filius Arnolfi occisus, & Hludowicus filius Posonis in Italiam. Adalhart, & Heinrich frater ejus, & Eberhardus bello occisi. DCCCCI. Iterum Hungari in Italiam. . . . DCCCCII . . . Et Bellum in Mara(=c)ha cum Ungaris, & patria vincta. DCCCCIII. Bellum Bauguariorum cum Ungaris. Adalbertus Choradum bello occidit. DCCCCIV Ungari in dolo ad convivium a Bauguariis vocati. Cussal dux eorum, suique sequaces occasi sunt (*Chronicon Veronense,* ed. Zaccaria, *Iter. Litt.,* II, IV, 225).

(Plate 203, Fig. 4), which was built c. 1005, and Vigolo Marchese (c. 1010). The motive persisted even in the XII century, as in the apse of S. Fedele at Como (Plate 63, Fig. 3). Rectangular niches are found as early as 889 in the baptistery of Settimo Vittone.

It is tempting to assign the atrium and baptistery which formerly existed at S. Fedele of Como to the X century because they seem to have been analogous to the edifices we have just described. There is, however, hardly enough data to warrant such an attribution.

CHAPTER VI. BASILICAN CHURCHES
c. 900-c. 1000

Of the first half of the X century there is extant in northern Italy only one basilica in even tolerable preservation, and that is S. Orso at Aosta (Plate 13, Fig. 2). Amid later alterations and reconstructions it is easy to recognize that this church originally consisted of three aisles separated by heavy rectangular piers and roofed in timber. As has already been observed, rectangular piers were regularly resorted to when no ancient columns could be procured. In structural forms, therefore, this edifice shows no advance over others already studied, while the crudeness of the construction reinforces the inference we have already drawn as to the poor technique of the X century. The single-aisled basilica of Spigno (Plate 207, Fig. 2, 4) similarly shows no structural innovations of note. This authentically dated monument of 991 demonstrates that even at the end of the X century the art of architecture continued at low ebb.

The apses of three churches at Milan, S. Ambrogio (Plate 117, Fig. 5), S. Calimero (Plate 125, Fig. 2) and S. Eustorgio (Plate 127, Fig. 6), all date from the X century. That of S. Ambrogio is still preceded by a barrel-vaulted choir (Plate 119, Fig. 3), a disposition which recalls S. Pietro of Agliate (Plate 8). A short, rectangular choir also precedes the principal apse in that portion of the church of S. Giorgio di Valpolicella which was erected c. 1000 (Plate 197). Of the destroyed co-cathedral of S. Pietro in Dom at Brescia, erected at the end of the X century, but little is known except that the aisles were separated by columns. On the basis of the evidence afforded by these monuments we may conclude that during the first three quarters of the X century no progress was made in the structural evolution of the basilica.

About the year 990, however, was built an exceedingly remarkable monument, the choir of S. Stefano of Verona. In this edifice we seem to feel the first breath of that great architectural revival that in the XI century was to sweep over not only Lombardy, but all Europe.

The choir of S. Stefano is notable because it is supplied with an ambulatory (Plate 222, Fig. 1), albeit an ambulatory radically different from the well known French type. (Compare the ambulatory of Senlis, Plate 222, Fig. 7). The choir is raised above the crypt (Plate 223, Fig. 5) and this crypt is extended also under the ambulatory (Plate 222, Fig. 2) in the form of an annular gallery. The arcades opening from the choir to the ambulatory rise in height and widen as they approach the back or centre. The ambulatory was raised above the choir. The latter, in plan, forms a sort of rounded square. It is probable that there was free circulation around the ambulatory.

Some ten years later a very similar ambulatory was built in the cathedral of Ivrea (Plate 101, Fig. 3). Here, too, the choir is raised over a crypt which is extended under the ambulatory, but at Ivrea the plan of the choir is not a rounded square, but half a diamond, there being a column on axis and two other columns on either side placed in lines almost straight.

APPENDIX I. AMBULATORIES

The peculiar dispositions of the choirs of S. Stefano of Verona and of the cathedral of Ivrea raise the much discussed question of the origin of the ambulatory. The church of S. Giorgio Maggiore at Naples, as has been pointed out by Rivoira,[1] preserves an ambulatory which seems to date from the IV century. This and other monuments give reason to believe that from the earliest times the apse was occasionally supplied with a side aisle. The church of the Annunziata at Prata (Plate 222, Fig. 8) also possesses what seems very much like an ambulatory. This monument is peculiar, however, in

[1] 8.

that, being hollowed out of the rock, it partakes more of the nature of a catacomb than of a building. Moreover, there is no circulation through the side aisle, which is choked by the great niche at the east end of the apse.

A somewhat similar construction existed, and is still partially preserved, in the church of S. Sofia at Padova. The ambulatory, erected c. 550, had columns engaged against the piers which were worked to a polygonal plan externally. There was an eastern chapel very much as at Prata. This VI century ambulatory was retained in the reconstructions of c. 1010 and c. 1106, although the circulation was choked at the latter epoch.

I know of no authentic instance of an ambulatory erected either north or south of the Alps during the Carlovingian period. It was formerly believed that one existed at St.-Martin of Tours, but the many rebuildings of that church give reason to fear that the excavators may have confused the numerous epochs of construction. At the abbey of S. Gallo, built in the IX century, there seems to have been not an ambulatory, but a sort of exterior passage-way or gallery surrounding the apse and opening, not into the church, but outside. This disposition was reproduced in the eastern apse of S. Pietro of Civate, erected c. 1040, and still in part preserved (Plate 56, Fig. 1, 2) and probably also at S. Giovanni in Laterano at Rome.

The ambulatories of S. Stefano of Verona and of the cathedral of Ivrea were therefore in all probability inspired by some such edifice as S. Sofia of Padova. That they in turn were the prototypes of French ambulatories has been frequently asserted, but is not easily proved. The two examples of an ambulatory that have come down to us in northern Italy, even if we add to them the doubtful instance of the cathedral of Aosta, are not so conspicuous as to make it seem probable that they should have been copied as far away as Auvergne. Moreover, the French type of ambulatory, with its lofty arcades and radiating chapels (Plate 222, Fig. 7), is, as has already been remarked, very different from the Italian type, and no intermediate steps are found, to the extent of my knowledge, to help bridge the chasm.

The XII century ambulatories of southern Italy, on the other hand, seem to have been derived, not from the Lombard ambulatories, but from France. They were probably imported, not by the Cistercians, but by the Normans. In the cathedral of Aversa there is extant an ambulatory built between 1134 and 1160, of French type but covered with Lombard rib vaults (Plate 17, Fig. 1, 2). We have here undoubtedly the combination of two extraneous influences.[2]

APPENDIX II. TRANSEPTS

The church of S. Quintino of Spigno, erected 991, is worthy of remark because, although the nave was of a single aisle, there are transepts. The Lombard builders were very fond of omitting transepts, and in all periods this feature was as frequently left out as included. Even vast edifices like S. Ambrogio of Milan (Plate 116) or the cathedral of Cremona were planned without a transept.[3] On the other hand, transepts, and even widely projecting transepts, were sometimes used, as at S. Michele of Pavia (Plate 172), Isola S. Giulio (c. 1120) or Sezzè—1030—(Plate 206, Fig. 3). At times the architects seem to have tried to obtain the extra floor space afforded by transepts, while still retaining a nave which should seem to be unbroken by any transverse member. Thus, at S. Lorenzo of Verona the transepts are in two aisles and two stories so as to be practically concealed (Plate 220, Fig. 2). At Casale the transepts were hardly wider than a bay of the nave, from which they were separated by a screen-wall with an arch but little higher than the main arcade. There was probably some similar arrangement at S. Simpliciano of Milan, although the bad preservation of this edifice makes it

[2] There are in central and southern Italy several other ambulatories of similar type. The ambulatory of S. Antimo is believed to be earlier than 1118 (Enlart, 300; Venturi, III, 820, 822). The abbey of Venosa has been discussed below (Vol. II, p. 81). The ambulatory of S. Maria a Piè di Chienti is said to date from 1125. Acerenza, on the other hand, is believed to have been built in 1286. I have not had the opportunity to examine any of these monuments on the spot.

[3] The existing transepts of the cathedral of Cremona are, of course, an afterthought.

impossible to be certain how the building was originally disposed. Analogous designs are still extant in excellent preservation at Monastero di Capo di Ponte—c. 1090—(Plate 146, Fig. 1) and Cavagnolo—c. 1140—(Plate 51, Fig. 5). At S. Maria del Popolo of Pavia the side aisles were of varying height in alternate bays, so the effect must have been that of a series of transepts. At S. Pietro in Ciel d'Oro there is a western transept.

APPENDIX III. NAVES

Naves of a single aisle were probably erected at all periods. The church of Spigno, although a monastery of considerable importance, was, as we have seen, built with a single aisle in 991. The monasteries of S. Pietro di Civate and Piona were erected c. 1040 with single-aisled churches (Plate 57, Fig. 3; Plate 188, Fig. 4). The XII century churches of S. Ilario di Baganza, Loppia di Bellagio, Dongo, Casorso and S. Pietro of Gallarate (Plate 94, Fig. 3) are as simple. A singular disposition is found in the abbey of Vezzolano, which dates from 1189, in that there is a single side aisle. At S. Zeno di Castelletto there are two parallel naves.

Important churches were at all epochs frequently erected with five aisles. The cathedral of Modena, built c. 1035, had five aisles, as did also the destroyed cathedrals of S. Stefano at Pavia, of Novara and of Ferrara. The five aisles are combined with a pyramidal section at S. Abondio of Como (Plate 58, Fig. 2), Casale, and S. Simpliciano of Milan.[4]

Galleries frequently occur in the more important churches. They are found at S. Sepolcro of Milan (1030), Sannazzaro Sesia—1040—(Plate 202, Fig. 1, 3), S. Ambrogio of Milan (Plate 118, Fig. 3), S. Michele of Pavia (Plate 176, Fig. 5), in the destroyed church of S. Giovanni in Borgo of Pavia, at S. Lorenzo of Verona (Plate 220, Fig. 2), at S. Fedele of Como (Plate 61; Plate 62), in the destroyed cathedral of

[4] At S. Bernardo of Vercelli (1164) the side aisles are of the same height as the nave (Plate 215, Fig. 2).

Novara (Plate 158), in the destroyed church of S. Maria Maggiore of Vercelli (1148), at S. Maria Maggiore of Bergamo (Plate 23, Fig. 1), in the cathedrals of Parma (Plate 166, Fig. 1), Piacenza (Plate 181, Fig. 5), Borgo (Plate 30, Fig. 4) and in many other instances that might be cited. True triforia, however, are comparatively rare. There is an early example at Lodi Vecchio (Plate 104, Fig. 4; Plate 105, Fig. 5), dating from c. 1050, but much rebuilt in the XIV century. Others once existed at Morimondo—1186—(Plate 154, Fig. 3), and in the cathedral of Lodi (c. 1190).

Certain exceptional peculiarities in the planning of basilicas remain to be noted. At Agliate (Plate 8), before the recent restoration, the eastern bay of the nave was much wider than the others. This mannerism is repeated at Cortazzone d'Asti and S. Maria Canale of Cortona. It will be remembered that it is characteristic of the Romanesque churches of Umbria and southern Italy. At S. Nazaro of Milan the plan forms a perfect Latin cross with a nave of a single aisle and projecting transepts. This probably preserves the form of the primitive church built by S. Ambrogio. The plan of the church of Mont'Orfano is similar. The pavement of the side aisles is raised above that of the nave in the church of S. Eufemia, Isola Comacina. At S. Alberto di Pizzo Corno the plan is entirely irregular.

APPENDIX IV. DUAL CATHEDRALS

It was the custom in Lombardy to erect two distinct basilicas in the more important episcopal towns, one to serve as the cathedral in summer, the other in winter. These basilicas were generally placed alongside of each other, and in at least some instances, adjoined. Such dual cathedrals existed at Milan, Pavia, Como[5] and Brescia.

[5] Giovio, 211-212.

CHAPTER VII. COMPOUND PIERS

As precisely as the extant monuments make it possible to determine, it was at the end of the X century when there was begun in Lombardy that series of experiments with the form of the supports of the basilicas, destined to lead to the evolution of the compound pier. It will be remembered that ever since the first half of the VIII century rectangular piers had been used at times to replace columns in the arcades of the basilica, when scarcity of pilfered material made such a construction desirable.[1] Now, rectangular piers as well as columns continued to be used occasionally in basilicas throughout the Romanesque period in northern Italy.[2] From the end of the X century, however, the builders began to give new and more complex sections to their piers.

One of the earliest of the modifications introduced is found in the ambulatory of S. Stefano of Verona, which there is reason to believe was erected c. 990. Here the piers are not rectangular, but of irregular section, as was required by the structural

[1] Rectangular piers were occasionally used in centralized edifices such as, for example, SS. Tosca e Teuteria of Verona—c. 875—(Plate 223, Fig. 1, 3). In addition to the examples of rectangular piers already mentioned, those of the crypt of S. Eusebio of Pavia, dating c. 900, should be cited.

[2] The church of S. Salvatore at Turin, now buried, was built in 1006, with rectangular piers. There were rectangular piers also in the preceding edifice, which was in ruins at the time this reconstruction took place. Rectangular piers were used in the cathedral of Aosta (c. 1010), at Piobesi—c. 1020—(Plate 188, Fig. 3), at S. Benedetto di Lenno—1083—(Plate 102, Fig. 6), in the western bay of Cemmo (c. 1110), at S. Pietro di Legnano (1117), and at S. Giorgio of Almenno—c. 1120—(Plate 11, Fig. 8). When used in the XII century, however, the piers generally were placed in alternation with columns. At Casalino (c. 1040) rectangular piers alternate with piers of elongated oval section. In the choir of Maderno (c. 1120), at S. Giovanni in Fonte of Verona—1123—(Plate 218, Fig. 2), at Fontanella al Monte—c. 1130—(Plate 90; Plate 92), and at S. Giovanni in Valle of Verona—1164—(Plate 218, Fig. 4), piers and columns are used together. Many other examples might be cited. Pillars are used at S. Vincenzo of Galliano—1007—(Plate 97). Monolithic columns were employed in the minor arcades of S. Abondio of Como—1095—(Plate 59, Fig. 1), and at S. Lorenzo of Cremona (c. 1195).

exigencies of the annular passage-way (Plate 222, Fig. 1). This construction proves that the builders of the last decade of the X century possessed the initiative to introduce modifications in types established by tradition when the need arose, and that they were ready to grapple with practical problems in that logical and persistent spirit which was destined to lead within less than a century to the formation of a new and vital type of architecture.

Not long afterwards another modification, this time purely decorative, was made in the section of piers. Instead of being rectangular or square they were made octangular. The earliest examples of such a construction that I know are to be found in the crypt of the cathedral of Aosta (c. 1010) and at S. Pietro of Acqui (c. 1015-1023).[3]

Far more important, and indeed it may almost be said the starting point for the development of all Romanesque and Gothic architecture of western Europe, is the T-shaped section given to the piers of certain basilicas erected about the year 1000. The best known example is the church of S. Eustorgio at Milan, which has become famous, thanks to the labours of Cattaneo, although the ancient piers have now disappeared. This monument, however, is far from standing alone, as has hitherto been believed. Piers of similar section are found in the Coro Vecchio of Sagra S. Michele, an authentically dated monument of 1002, at S. Sofia of Padova (c. 1010), and in two other edifices which undoubtedly date from the first years of the XI century, though the fact has not hitherto been recognized, that is to say, in the well known basilicas of S. Vittore of Ravenna and S. Pietro in Sylvis of Bagnacavallo[4] (Plate 18, Fig. 2, 4, 5). It has been supposed by Cattaneo that the spur on the side of the aisles was added to the piers of S. Eustorgio in order to support

[3] The construction occasionally persisted in later times, as at Oleggio (c. 1030), S. Eufemia of Isola Comacina (c. 1095), and Renno—c. 1100—(Plate 191, Fig. 4).

[4] This church still continues to be ascribed absurdly to the VI century in spite of the architectural forms which are clearly those of the epoch to which we refer it, and in spite of the fact that the town of Bagnacavallo probably did not come into existence much before the IX century. (See Frizzi, I, 167). The remains of the ciborio will be discussed later.

transverse arches thrown across the side aisles. In such a conjecture there is nothing intrinsically improbable. It should be observed, however, that at S. Vittore of Ravenna and at Bagnacavallo (Plate 18, Fig. 4), it is evident that there were never transverse arches. The thought naturally arises that the spur may have been added to the piers merely as a buttress to strengthen or stiffen them. The fact that a century later precisely similar piers were erected in the Soissonnais at Béthisy-St.-Martin (Plate 18, Fig. 3), gives some reason to believe that this may have been the case, but if we adopt such an hypothesis we must grant that the Lombard builders in the year 1000 possessed a knowledge of buttressing which we shall find they scarcely attained at a much later period. Neither one explanation nor the other, therefore, seems entirely tenable, and I confess that I remain in considerable doubt as to the real reason for this innovation.[5]

The next step in the evolution of the compound pier was of course to add a spur on the side of the nave as well as on that of the side aisle, giving the pier the section of a Greek cross. Cattaneo found piers of this type in the church of SS. Felice e Fortunato at Vicenza. These piers, like those of S. Eustorgio, have to-day disappeared, but the decorative characteristics of other portions of the same basilica still extant leave no doubt that the great archæologist somewhat under-dated these important fragments, and that the piers in question were erected not much before 1030. Although the Vicenza monument has been destroyed, other piers of the same section and about contemporary are still extant. The cruciform piers of Mazzone (Plate 187, Fig. 2) date from about this same time (1030). At

[5] According to Monneret de Villard (31) the church of S. Maria at Solona, founded in 976, had square piers and side-aisle responds. There were therefore probably either vaulted side aisles or transverse arches in the side aisles. This fact seems to strengthen the thesis of Cattaneo. As Rivoira (86) has pointed out, compound piers of a kind existed in the Basilica Giulia at Rome, but there is absolutely no evidence that knowledge of this or similar ruins exerted the slightest influence in the evolution of the compound pier in Lombardy. The contention of Venturi (III, 26) that the compound pier was invented at St.-Remi of Reims in 1005 is obviously untenable, since the piers in question are of much later date. (See my *Mediæval Architecture*, II, 206). T-shaped piers persisted as late as 1135 at Tiglieto.

S. Carpoforo of Como, an authentically dated edifice of c. 1028-1040, are introduced certain piers of cruciform section (Plate 60, Fig. 1, 2).[6]

Rectangular piers with semi-columns on each end are found at Lomello—c. 1025—(Plate 106; Plate 109, Fig. 4), Viguzzolo (c. 1050), and S. Eufemia of Isola Comacina (c. 1095). The piers of the cathedral of Acqui, a building begun c. 1015 and consecrated in 1067, are of somewhat similar section, except that a third semi-column is introduced on the side facing the side aisles. The step from such a type as this to the fully developed quatrefoiled pier was easily taken. Indeed, such piers were actually erected in the cathedral of Modena which preceded the existing one (c. 1035), in the contemporary church at Stradella (Plate 208), and at Lodi Vecchio—c. 1050—(Plate 103).[7]

When once the principle of the compound pier had been thus discovered, the motive could easily be developed almost indefinitely, and it was but a very short step from the quatrefoiled piers of Stradella to the most complex forms of support. Nor are evidences wanting that the builders almost immediately realized the flexibility and possible application of the new system they had invented. Thus, at Pombia (c. 1030), the piers are rectangular on three sides, but on the side of the aisles, where there are groin vaults. there is engaged a rectangular pilaster in three orders, supplying a logical support for the vaulting members.[8] A similar arrangement is found in the contemporary church at Oleggio. Compound piers of fully developed type appear in the year 1040 in the dated abbey of Sannazzaro Sesia

[6] Piers of cruciform section persisted at Badia di Vertemate—1083-1095—(Plate 18, Fig. 1), at Cemmo—c. 1110—(Plate 52, Fig. 4), and at Pieve di Novi Ligure—c. 1130—(Plate 159, Fig. 1).

[7] This type of pier persisted in later times at S. Ambrogio of Milan (Plate 116), S. Pietro di Bologna (Plate 25, Fig. 6), at the Chiesa d'Aurona of Milan—1095—(Plate 114, Fig. 2), S. Benedetto of Portesana (1099), S. Fedele of Como—c. 1115—(Plate 62), Maderno—c. 1120—(Plate 112, Fig. 3), Nonantola (1121), and in the Atrio di Pilato of Bologna—c. 1142—(Plate 25, Fig. 7). They persisted even as late as the XIII century at Vicofertile—c. 1200—(Plate 240, Fig. 2) and S. Croce of Parma (1222).

[8] Entirely analogous piers were erected a century later at Monastero di Provaglio. In the church of Pallanza—c. 1130—(Plate 161, Fig. 2, 5), the compound piers are composed of rectangular members.

(Plate 200), and at Calvenzano (Plate 38). They will continue in use with various amplifications and developments throughout the remainder of the XI and the XII centuries.[9]

While the piers had been undergoing such an evolution the responds of the side aisles had also been developing in an analogous manner. The earliest responds which I know are those of the crypt of S. Vincenzo of Galliano, an authentically dated monument of 1007 (Plate 98). They are simply rectangular pilasters.[10] Three years later, in the campanile of the cathedral of Aosta, we find rectangular responds provided for groin vaults. At Oleggio (c. 1030) rectangular members, without bases or capitals, are supplied for the groins and the wall and transverse ribs in the side-aisle responds of the choir. Similar responds are found at Pombia (c. 1030), and at S. Lorenzo of Mantova (c. 1115). In the cathedral of Modena, erected c. 1035, semicircular members are introduced in the responds, which therefore are of fully developed type. Such responds are found also at Sannazzaro Sesia—1040—(Plate 200), S. Severo of Bardolino (c. 1050), S. Vincenzo of Gravedona (1072), and in many other monuments which might be named.

Before leaving the question of supports, a word should be said of cylindrical piers. Contrary to what might be supposed, such substitutes for columns were employed from a very early period in northern Italy, and were therefore not necessarily imported from the North by the Cistercians. The cylindrical piers in the crypt of S. Eusebio at Pavia date from c. 900, and there are numerous other examples of this type of support, which indubitably antedate the coming of the Cistercians.[11] Cylindrical piers certainly were used in several churches either belonging to

[9] For examples see Monastero di Capo di Ponte—c. 1090—(Plate 146, Fig. 1), Isola S. Giulio—c. 1120—(Plate 100, Fig. 8), Cerreto—c. 1140—(Plate 52, Fig. 3), Rivalta Scrivia—1180—(Plate 192, Fig. 2). At S. Lorenzo of Montiglio—c. 1150—(Plate 153, Fig. 1) compound piers are used in an edifice which was originally without vault. In the contemporary church of Cortazzone d'Asti (Plate 82, Fig. 2), which was also roofed in wood, certain piers are given a fantastic section.

[10] Similar responds are found as late as 1099 at S. Benedetto di Portesana.

[11] For example, in the baptistery of Vigolo Marchese (c. 1010), at Sommacampagna—c. 1040—(Plate 207, Fig. 3), at Sasso—c. 1050—(Plate 205, Fig. 1), at

the Cistercians themselves or built under their influence.[12] The piers of these Cistercian churches, moreover, seem to present strong analogies with the cylindrical piers of northern churches such as, for example, the cathedral of Gloucester (Plate 55, Fig. 3). In view, however, of the fact that cylindrical piers had been in use in Lombardy from a very early period, it is entirely improbable that the Cistercians brought this feature from the North. If connection must be found, it is more probable that the influence was the other way about, and that the northern builders borrowed the construction from Lombardy.[13]

It is remarkable that one of the cylindrical piers in the cathedral of Piacenza has an engaged colonnette (Plate 181, Fig. 5). This construction seems to anticipate a remarkable development of the transitional epoch in the Ile-de-France, for, it will be remembered, piers of similar section are found in the cathedrals of Soissons, Séez and Paris. Since the cathedral of Piacenza was begun in 1122, there can be no doubt that it is earlier than the French examples.

There are coupled cylindrical piers of brick used as supports in the church of S. Pancrazio, built c. 1135. At S. Sepolcro of Bologna there are cylindrical piers and coupled columns. Coupled columns were used as early as c. 1000 in the ambulatory of the cathedral of Ivrea. C. 1035 such supports appear in the transepts of the cathedral of Susa in a form that recalls the distant church of Ste.-Croix at Quimperlé (Plate 50, Fig. 3). It is interesting to compare with the latter the coupled semi-columns of Castelnuovo Scrivia (Plate 50, Fig. 7).

Badia di Vertemate—1083-1095—(Plate 18, Fig. 1), at S. Severo of Bardolino—c. 1050—(Plate 19, Fig. 4), at Monastero di Capo di Ponte (c. 1090), at S. Abondio of Como—1095—(Plate 59, Fig. 1), at Ciriè (c. 1100), at Monchio (c. 1100), at S. Giacomo of Como—c. 1105—(Plate 64, Fig. 8), at Cemmo (c. 1110), at S. Lorenzo of Mantova (c. 1115), at S. Eustorgio of Milan—c. 1120—(Plate 127, Fig. 3), and in the cathedral of Piacenza—1122 f.—(Plate 181, Fig. 5).

[12] For example, Chiaravalle Milanese—1135-1221—(Plate 55, Fig. 1), Rivalta Scrivia—1180—(Plate 192, Fig. 2), Morimondo—1186—(Plate 154, Fig. 2), Crescenzago—c. 1190—(Plate 87, Fig. 3).

[13] Cylindrical piers are found in numerous Lombard churches of the XII century in which there is no trace of a Cistercian influence; *e.g.*, Rubbiano (c. 1130), Panico—c. 1145—(Plate 162, Fig. 4), Cortazzone d'Asti—c. 1150—(Plate 82, Fig. 2) and Gazzo Veronese (c. 1190).

Coupled colonnettes, which appear in the cloister of Moissac as early as 1100, are first found in Lombardy in the narthex of S. Trinità of Verona in the year 1117 (Plate 223, Fig. 4). In 1133 they reappear in the cloister of S. Orso at Aosta (Plate 12, Fig. 6), where, however, they are only occasionally introduced amid single colonnettes. In the cloister of S. Stefano at Bologna—1160—(Plate 25, Fig. 2) they are used except at the angles, and from this time they were frequently employed in cloisters and little arcades of all sorts.[14]

[14] For example, in the cloister of S. Zeno of Verona—c. 1175-1200—(Plate 225, Fig. 1), in the exterior gallery of the cathedral of Ferrara—1177—(Plate 89, Fig. 3), in the cloisters of S. Ruffillo di Bologna—c. 1180—(Plate 204, Fig. 1), and in the cloisters of Montechiarugolo—c. 1200—(Plate 148, Fig. 1).

Book II. The XI Century

CHAPTER I. TRANSVERSE ARCHES

The dawn of the XI century witnessed a great renaissance of architecture throughout Europe. In no other region, however, was this renaissance so far-reaching, so swift, and so fraught with structural innovations as in Lombardy. Here, indeed, without exaggeration, the country-side may be said to have clothed itself with a white garment of churches.[1] It was, moreover, not only in architecture that men began to think in new and different ways. A notable revival of learning took place.[2] The desire for new forms of thought is witnessed also by the heresy which broke out at Monforte in 1028.[3]

Of the structural innovations wrought in the basilica during the XI century, one of the most significant was the introduction of transverse arches spanning the nave or the side aisles at intervals, and serving as a support for the timbers of the roof. Choisy[4] believes that such arches were introduced for the purpose of restraining possible fires. It is more probable, however, that the real purpose was to economize timber. In the VIII century timber had been plentiful and inexpensive, while arches were relatively exceedingly expensive to build.[5] In the XI century these conditions were reversed. It was cheaper to build a

[1] Igitur infra supradictum millesimum tertio iam fere imminente anno, contigit in vniuerso penè terrarum Orbe, præcipuè tamen in Italia, & in Galliis, innouari Ecclesiarum Basilicas, licet pleræque decenter locatæ minimè indiguissent. Æmulabatur tamen quæque gens Christicolarum aduersus alteram decentiore frui. Erat enim instar ac si mundus ipse excutiendo semet, reiecta vetustate, passim candidam Ecclesiarum vestem induceret. Tunc denique Episcopalium Sedium Ecclesias penè vniuersas, ac cetera quæque diuersorum Sanctorum Monasteria, seu minora villarum Oratoria, in meliora quique permutauere fideles. (Glabri Rodulphi, *Historiarum*, Lib. III, Cap. IV, ed. Duchesne, IV, 27).

[2] Giulini, II, 39. [3] Giulini, II, 163-164. [4] *Histoire*, II, 7.

[5] *Grimoaldi sive Liutprandi Memoratorium de Mercedibus Commacinorum*, ed. Pertz, M. G. H., *Leges*, IV, 176 f.

transverse arch than to obtain the enormous beams which would otherwise be necessary to span a nave of considerable size. The change came about partly because wood became more scarce, partly because improved technique of construction resulted in increasing the width of naves and decreasing the difficulty of erecting arches.[6]

There can be little doubt that transverse arches were first employed in the side aisles. Possibly they existed in the side aisles of S. Eustorgio of Milan, erected c. 1000. Certainly they existed in the side aisles of the Coro Vecchio of Sagra S. Michele, an authentically dated monument of 1002. They also existed in the side aisles of S. Sofia of Padova (c. 1010).

The earliest instance I know of transverse arches spanning the nave is at Lomello, an edifice erected c. 1025 (Plate 106; Plate 107; Plate 108). It is true that the transverse arches of S. Prassede at Rome have commonly been ascribed to the IX century. Although the most recent writer on this edifice[7] is undoubtedly in error in believing that these arches are the result of a barocco reconstruction (the frescos still extant prove that the piers are at least as early as the XIII century), he is perfectly correct in discrediting the old ascription to the IX century. It is probable that the arches in question were erected in the XII century, as may be deduced from their analogy to the transverse arches which once existed in the not far distant church of S. Maria di Falleri (Plate 189, Fig. 5). The latter are known to have been erected in 1186.[8] All these transverse arches were undoubtedly copied from Lombardy. Similarly, the church of S. Miniato al Monte, near Florence, the transverse arches of which are generally ascribed to 1013,[9] was in reality reconstructed in the XII century, as is evident from the style of the architecture. Nor is there any reason to believe that the transverse arches of S. Angelo at Perugia (Plate 111, Fig. 4) antedate

[6] See my *Construction of Lombard and Gothic Vaults*, passim.

[7] Arthur L. Frothingham, *Monuments of Christian Rome*, New York, Macmillan, 1908, 108, 410.

[8] Enlart, 80.

[9] See, for example, G. Carocci, *S. Miniato al Monte presso Firenze*, in *Arte e Storia*, 1908, 54.

those of Lomello.[10] All these examples, and many others that might be cited, such as, for instance, the church of Villemagne in France (Plate 111, Fig. 1), merely prove the extraordinary popularity of this Lombard motive, and its diffusion throughout Europe.

The transverse arches of Lomello, therefore, may be accepted as the earliest known erected over a nave. They were crowned with a pediment wall and had bifora in either spandrel (Plate 107). They rose from every alternate bay, but one was set on the pair of piers next adjoining the façade (Plate 106; Plate 108). These arches of S. Maria Maggiore were later imitated in the smaller church of S. Michele in the same town of Lomello.

At S. Carpoforo of Como, an authentically dated edifice, begun c. 1028, and consecrated in 1040, there were transverse arches springing from the alternate piers and spanning the nave and side aisles (Plate 60, Fig. 1, 2). There were also transverse arches spanning the nave of Calvenzano—c. 1040—(Plate 38), and Lodi Vecchio—c. 1050—(Plate 103). The former were on an alternate, the latter on a uniform system. These monuments leave no room for doubt that transverse arches originated in Lombardy in the first half of the XI century.

During the second half of the XI century the builders appear to have abandoned transverse arches in favour of rib and groin vaults, which at that time came into great popularity. In the year 1099, however, Lanfranco revived the earlier construction in the cathedral of Modena. This architect turned in impatience from the vaulted constructions which he found generally in use in his time, to return to a more classic and primitive form of building in which oblique and horizontal thrusts should be as much as possible eliminated. He probably clung to transverse arches for the same reason that they had first been introduced, that is to say, in order to facilitate the construction of a timber roof over a nave of considerable width (Plate 138). The transverse arches of the cathedral of Modena rise from the alternate supports and are crowned by gables which

[10] See *Bollettino d'Arte*, 1911, V, 28.

at present project above the roof of the cathedral (Plate 140, Fig. 3).

The construction revived at Modena was soon copied in other churches of the XII century. There is a transverse arch in the single-aisled chapel of Vaprio d'Adda, erected c. 1115 (Plate 213, Fig. 2). The triforium gallery in the nave of the cathedral of Cremona, built between 1107 and 1117, had transverse arches. There were transverse arches certainly in the side aisles, and probably in the nave also, in the church of Maderno, which dates from c. 1120. All these edifices were probably influenced by the cathedral of Modena. The abbey church of Nonantola was certainly in large part copied from the masterpiece of Lanfranco, and transverse arches were here introduced in the construction begun in 1121. Also copied from Modena were the transverse arches in the now destroyed cathedral of Novara (c. 1125). Those of the cathedral of Cremona, built 1129-1143, rose from every pier, and were crowned by a gable with windows like the arches of Lomello. The transverse arches of S. Fedele of Como (c. 1115) are similar, except that there are no windows (Plate 61; Plate 62). At Pieve di Novi Ligure (Plate 159, Fig. 1) there are transverse arches in both nave and side aisles. There may anciently have been transverse arches in the single-aisled chapel of Gallarate, constructed c. 1145. Transverse arches are used at S. Zeno of Verona in those portions of the edifice which were erected in 1138, but they were abandoned in those portions built c. 1150-1160 (Plate 226, Fig. 1, 3). The construction persisted, however, as late as 1177 in the destroyed nave of Ferrara, and until 1184 at Carpi.

Analogous in structural principle to the transverse arch is the transverse wall pierced by three arches, introduced to support the wooden roof in the western bay of S. Panerazio at Corneto (Plate 78; Plate 79).

CHAPTER II. THE ALTERNATE SYSTEM

A second innovation introduced about contemporaneously with transverse arches and almost equally significant for the future development of architecture was the alternate system.

It has already been remarked that in certain basilicas of early date the failing supply of ancient columns was eked out with rectangular piers. In certain buildings—the northern arcade of the eastern half of S. Giorgio di Valpolicella (Plate 197) offers the best example—there is a tendency to arrange the pilfered columns and original piers in regular alternation. It is natural to see in such combinations of new and old material the origin of the alternate system. There are, in fact, numerous churches of the XII century in which columns and piers alternate in precisely this way, without betraying any deeper structural reason for such an arrangement.[1] I was at one time inclined to believe that the alternate system arose from an attempt to use thus rhythmically unsymmetrical materials. The dearth of examples of such a construction dating from the XI century, however, it now seems to me, indicates that the alternate system may have originated from a far more vital structural necessity, that is to say, from the use of transverse arches.

The transverse arches had frequently been thrown only from every other pier. There was economy in such a construction, since sufficient supports were provided for the roof without building an excessive number of arches such as would have resulted had arches been thrown from every pair of supports. The earliest example of a true alternate system that I can name was built in connection with transverse arches of this type in the

[1] See, for example, Renno (c. 1100); S. Vittore of Arsago—c. 1120—(Plate 15, Fig. 2); Porcile—1143—(Plate 189, Fig. 4); Panico—c. 1145—(Plate 162, Fig. 4); Villanova—1167—(Plate 241, Fig. 4); Carpi (1184).

church of S. Sofia at Padova (c. 1010). Unfortunately, the church has been many times rebuilt and altered, so that the original design remains more or less conjectural. There is evidence, however, that the piers were alternately T-shaped and rectangular.

The alternate system reappears in the highly important church of S. Maria Maggiore at Lomello (Plate 106; Plate 108), undoubtedly one of the most important edifices of the XI century in Europe. Again it is in connection with transverse arches, and indeed it is only in the upper parts of the church that the alternation is visible, since the piers are all of approximately the same section.

The alternate system reappears in more emphatic form in the church of SS. Felice e Fortunato of Vicenza, which was probably erected c. 1030. This monument has been destroyed, but the authentically dated S. Carpoforo of Como, begun soon after 1028, and consecrated in 1040, is still in good preservation. Here, as in the church of Vicenza, the alternate system was again used in connection with transverse arches. A similar arrangement existed also at Calvenzano—1040—(Plate 38).[2]

It is probable that as soon as piers came to be given a cruciform section the pilaster facing the nave was made to continue through the capitals, if any, at the level of the impost of the main arcade, and along the clearstory walls, so as to support the transverse arch spanning the nave. There is extant an early example of such a construction in the often mentioned church of S. Maria Maggiore at Lomello (Plate 108), which dates from c. 1025.[3] In this case the system consists of a single flat pilaster strip.

From the beginning thus made it was an easy step to modify

[2] Later examples of the alternate system used in connection with transverse arches may be found at S. Fermo Maggiore of Verona (1065-1135), S. Lorenzo of Verona—1110—(Plate 220, Fig. 3), Maderno—c. 1120—(Plate 112, Fig. 3), the destroyed cathedral of Novara—c. 1125—(Plate 156, Fig. 2), the destroyed nave of Ferrara (1135), S. Zeno of Verona—1138—(Plate 226, Fig. 3) and Lodi (c. 1190). In the latter examples there is an odd western bay as at Lomello. Two pairs of columns were sometimes grouped between the heavier piers.

[3] The church of Lomello is also notable because it contains the earliest known example of a stairway or passage in the wall.

the section of the system or add other members, as a second order of the transverse arch or the members of the vaulting might require. This step, however, does not seem to have been immediately taken—at least at Mazzone (c. 1030) the system is still of a simple rectangular section, although there are groin vaults (Plate 187, Fig. 2). At Calvenzano (c. 1040) the system appears to have been similar. At Stradella (Plate 210), however, a shaft was engaged upon the pilaster strip, probably with the view of adapting the system to supporting groin vaults. At Sannazzaro Sesia (Plate 202, Fig. 1) pilasters normal to the diagonals were added. A system of somewhat similar section was executed at S. Benedetto of S. Pietro di Civate c. 1045. From this time onward the section of the system was freely varied as circumstances dictated.[4]

While the system arising from the alternate piers was thus undergoing a logical evolution, the builders found themselves considerably embarrassed to know how to treat the intermediate piers of an alternate system. In the church of Lomello, which here again marks a new epoch, the problem became acute. The piers, as has been seen, were all of the same section (Plate 106), but the transverse arches rose only from every other pier (Plate 108). The question was how to treat the intermediate system. The problem was solved by continuing the pilaster strip along the wall to the roof. In order to give it an apparent function, wooden brackets were added at the top to support the timbers of the roof (Plate 108). These brackets, still in perfect preservation, leave no doubt in regard to the original disposition of the edifice. We undoubtedly have here beneath our eyes the origin of the unmeaning system copied throughout Europe in the second half of the XI and the XII centuries, and one of the most puzzling features of the northern Romanesque. At S.

[4] The diagonal ribs are carried on corbels at S. Giorgio of Almenno (c. 1120) and at Viboldone—c. 1195—(Plate 239, Fig. 2). At S. Eufemia of Isola Comacina, S. Maria di Castello of Corneto—1121—(Plate 76, Fig. 4) and at S. Abondio of Como (Plate 58, Fig. 4) a system was provided for the ribs of the half dome of the apse. At Monteveglio (1185) and at S. Pietro of Bologna—c. 1095—(Plate 25, Fig. 6) the system consists of a flat pilaster strip, but the latter is possibly an incorrect restoration. In the choir of Vezzolano (1189) the system is formed of coupled free-standing colonnettes.

Carpoforo of Como, begun shortly after 1028 and consecrated in 1040, there is a similar intermediate, unmeaning system (Plate 60, Fig. 1, 2), which, however, was apparently not carried up to the level of the roof, but abruptly truncated below the clearstory. A similar arrangement was adopted at Cemmo some seventy years later (Plate 52, Fig. 4).

Whenever the Lombard builders introduced piers as the intermediate members in churches with alternate system they found themselves in embarrassment to know how to terminate the member fronting the nave. At S. Ambrogio the intermediate system is made to support arched corbel-tables (Plate 119, Fig. 3); at S. Michele of Pavia, flat corbel-tables (Plate 176, Fig. 5). The same embarrassment occasionally arose even when there was no alternate system, as in the atrium of S. Ambrogio at Milan (Plate 120, Fig. 7), at Vaprio d'Adda (Plate 213, Fig. 2), in the Atrio di Pilato at Bologna, or in S. Sepolcro of the same city (Plate 24, Fig. 5). At S. Maria di Castello of Corneto the intermediate system ends in an unmeaning capital (Plate 75).[5]

Although the alternate system became an important feature of design in Lombard churches of the XI and XII centuries, it probably was never universally adopted to the exclusion of the uniform system.[6] It should be remarked, however, that there is extant no church of importance built upon a uniform system during the second half of the XI century.

This is to be explained partly by the fact that comparatively few churches of that period have come down to us, and partly by the fact that the builders were then especially absorbed in

[5] The reverse of such designs is found at S. Maria Canale of Tortona, where, although there are vaults (Plate 211, Fig. 5), the member of the piers facing the nave supports only the second order of the archivolt.

[6] The uniform system is found, for example, at Stradella—c. 1035—(Plate 210), in the old cathedral of Modena (c. 1035), at Sannazzaro Sesia—1040—(Plate 200), at Lodi Vecchio—c. 1050—(Plate 103), at Isola S. Giulio (c. 1120), at Castell'Arquato—1117-1122—(Plate 48, Fig. 2), at S. Babila of Milan—c. 1120—(Plate 125, Fig. 3), at Nonantola (1121), at S. Pietro in Ciel d'Oro—1132—(Plate 178, Fig. 4), at S. Teodoro of Pavia—c. 1135—(Plate 180, Fig. 1), in the western bays of S. Eustorgio of Milan (c. 1135), at Cavagnolo—c. 1140—(Plate 51, Fig. 5), at S. Francesco of Corneto—c. 1165—(Plate 67, Fig. 4), at Morimondo—1186—(Plate 154, Fig. 3), etc.

developing the possibilities of the new rib vault. The same desire for economy which led to the introduction of diagonal ribs caused the masons to prefer to erect the nave vaults on an alternate system, since six constructional arches would in this case do the work which would require eleven if the system were uniform.[7]

The alternate system was occasionally employed in connection with groin vaults.[8] In the cathedrals of Cremona, Piacenza and Parma it was probably the intention to use it to support sexpartite rib vaults.

A development of the alternate system was the introduction of alternation into the side-aisle responds. Since such responds materially strengthen the walls to which they are applied, it is logical that they should be heavier at the points where the weight is most concentrated. Apparently alternation existed in the side-aisle responds at Calvenzano as early as c. 1040 (Plate 38), but the reconstructions that edifice has undergone make it exceedingly difficult to trace the original forms. In the nave of S. Ambrogio at Milan such alternation certainly exists, and from this time onward it became a characteristic feature of Lombard design.[9] It will be remembered that a somewhat similar feature was introduced in the cathedral of Paris upwards of a century later.

[7] The alternate system is used in connection with rib vaults in the nave of S. Ambrogio (Plate 116), at S. Anastasio of Asti (1091), at S. Pietro of Bologna—c. 1095—(Plate 25, Fig. 6), at the Chiesa d'Aurona of Milan—1095—(Plate 114, Fig. 1, 2; Plate 115, Fig. 1), at Rivolta d'Adda—c. 1099—(Plate 193), at S. Michele of Pavia—c. 1100—(Plate 172), at S. Savino of Piacenza—1107—(Plate 183), in the eastern bays of S. Eustorgio at Milan—c. 1120—(Plate 127, Fig. 1), at S. Giovanni in Borgo of Pavia (c. 1120), at S. Maria in Castello of Corneto—1121—(Plate 73), at S. Giorgio in Palazzo of Milan (1129), at Chiaravalle Milanese—1135—(Plate 55, Fig. 1), at Cerreto—c. 1140—(Plate 52, Fig. 3), at Chiaravalle della Colomba—c. 1145—(Plate 53, Fig. 2), at Rivalta Scrivia—1180—(Plate 192, Fig. 2), at Vezzolano—1189—(Plate 236, Fig. 3), at Lodi (c. 1190) and at Borgo S. Donnino—1207—(Plate 30, Fig. 4).

[8] As in the western bay of S. Savino at Piacenza—1107—(Plate 185), in the choir of S. Maria at Bergamo (1137) or at Tronzano (c. 1140).

[9] See, for example, Rivolta d'Adda—c. 1099—(Plate 193), S. Savino of Piacenza—1107—(Plate 183), the cathedral of Parma (c. 1130-c. 1150, but the plan was probably conceived in 1117), Chiaravalle della Colomba (c. 1145), S. Giovanni in Borgo at Pavia (1120), Vezzolano (1189).

CHAPTER III. BARREL VAULTS

It is a well known and generally recognized fact that the history of mediæval architecture centres in the problem of vaulting the basilica. Indeed, the entire development of the art of building during the Romanesque and Gothic periods naturally subdivides itself into the various solutions attempted for this all-engrossing problem. A stone roof was felt to be the logical and necessary culmination of the church, not only because it was less liable to destruction by fire, but also because it was felt to be more monumental and dignified.[1] For this reason the choir, as the most sacred part of a church, was frequently vaulted, even when the nave was roofed in wood.

Of the various types of vault employed in northern Italy during the Romanesque period, the simplest is undoubtedly the barrel vault. This construction, inherited from antiquity, continued to be used at all epochs. We find examples of it, for instance, at S. Salvatore of Barzanò—c. 590—(Plate 20), at S. Zeno of Bardolino (c. 875) and the contemporary churches of SS. Tosca e Teuteria of Verona (Plate 223, Fig. 1) and S. Satiro of Milan (Plate 130; Plate 131, Fig. 2). In the XI and XII centuries barrel vaults became the characteristic roofing employed in the choirs of Lombard churches.[2] There is therefore no doubt that from an early period the Lombard builders were able to erect barrel vaults of sufficient dimensions to span the

[1] Hæ autem Ecclesiæ secundùm maximam partem habent testudines in toto corpore Ecclesiæ; nullæ tamen, vel paucissimæ sunt quæ non habeant supra Altaris tribunas testudinem; & quasi omnes habent Turres excelsas propter Campanas etc. (Anonymi Ticinensis, *De Laudibus Papiae*, XI, ed. Muratori, R. I. S., XI, 17).

[2] Examples at Agliate—889—(Plate 8), S. Ambrogio of Milan—940—(Plate 119, Fig. 3), Piobesi—c. 1020—(Plate 188, Fig. 3), Lomello—c. 1025—(Plate 106; Plate 108), Casalino—c. 1040—(Plate 48, Fig. 5), Cosio (1078), Rivolta d'Adda—c. 1099—(Plate 195), S. Giovanni in Borgo of Pavia (c. 1120), Rubbiano (c. 1130), Nonantola (1121), Cascina S. Trinità (1130), Cortazzone d'Asti—c. 1150—(Plate 82, Fig. 2), Rivalta Scrivia (1180), Vezzolano (1189).

naves even of the largest churches, had they desired so to do. As a matter of fact, however, there is extant only one barrel-vaulted nave—that of Cavagnolo—and that is not earlier than the second quarter of the XII century (Plate 51, Fig. 5).

Barrel vaults were used in transepts almost as characteristically as in choirs. The church of S. Pietro in Valle, which dates from c. 1005, has barrel vaults with disappearing ribs in the transepts (Plate 203, Fig. 1), but it is not certain that these vaults are original. Those in the transepts of the cathedral of Susa, however, undoubtedly date from c. 1035. There are numerous examples of the construction in the XII century.[3]

Other instances of the use of barrel vaults may be found in the higher transept-like bays of the side aisles at S. Maria del Popolo of Pavia, in the western bay of the northern side aisle at Monastero di Capo di Ponte, and in the first and second stories of the campanile and the north and south galleries of S. Maria del Tiglio at Gravedona.

Barrel vaults were occasionally supplied with transverse ribs, as, for example, at Rivolta d'Adda (Plate 195), Cavagnolo (Plate 51, Fig. 5) and in the cellars of the monastic buildings at Vezzolano. They appear, however, without exception, to have been erected with solid centering,[4] and the ribs are probably the result merely of the decorative necessity of continuing the lines of the system.

[3] At S. Michele of Pavia—c. 1100—(Plate 172), at S. Pietro in Ciel d'Oro of Pavia (1132), at S. Lanfranco of Pavia (c. 1136), at Castelnuovo Scrivia (1183), and at Brebbia (c. 1190).

[4] There is clear proof that the barrel vault of Cosio was so erected.

CHAPTER IV. CLOISTERED VAULTS

The cloistered vault was probably one of the many features which Charlemagne borrowed from the Byzantine buildings of northern Italy and which the Lombard builders in turn borrowed in the IX century back again from the North. At least there undoubtedly was a cloistered vault in the building of Charlemagne, and the earliest one that I know in Lombardy erected after the barbarian invasions is found at S. Satiro of Milan—876—(Plate 130), an edifice undoubtedly copied from Aachen. From this time onward the construction becomes common in baptisteries and circular edifices.[1] Domes, which before the Carlovingian conquest had been a characteristic construction in northern Italy, appear to have been abandoned.[2]

In the XI and XII centuries it came to be the custom to erect a cloistered dome over the crossing of cruciform basilicas. Even in churches without transepts a cloistered vault was often built over the eastern bay. Such a construction undoubtedly originated in the feeling that architectural emphasis should be given to the most sacred part of the church-building. It is well known that in the Middle Ages the altar was placed, not at the east, but at the west end of the choir, and the officiating priest faced the congregation instead of turning his back, as at present. It was therefore over precisely that part of the church in which the altar was situated that the cloistered vaults, or cupolas, were erected. It has been remarked above that a vault was always considered more monumental than a wooden roof, and that for

[1] For example, Agliate—c. 900—(Plate 7), Galliano (c. 1015), Novara (1040), Agrate Conturbia (c. 1135), S. Maria del Solario of Brescia—c. 1130—(Plate 32, Fig. 3). Rarely the corners of the vault are rounded, so the construction assumes more the character of a dome, as at Settimo Vittone (889) or at S. Fermo di Sopra—c. 1125—(Plate 196A, Fig. 3).

[2] In central Italy, as, for example, at S. Maria di Castello at Corneto, the dome on pendentives continued in use.

this reason especial pains were taken to vault the choirs. Of all types of vaults known to the Lombards the cloistered vault was undoubtedly the most monumental. This type of construction placed over the altar lent peculiar dignity to that portion of the edifice, whether viewed internally or externally.

The earliest basilica I can name in which the choir was surmounted by a cloistered vault and cupola is the cathedral of Acqui, begun c. 1015, and consecrated in 1067. The cupola of S. Ambrogio at Milan has evidently been rebuilt. The cupola of Monastero di Capo di Ponte—c. 1090—(Plate 146, Fig. 1) is, however, still the original one. In the XII century the construction became frequent.[3]

These cloistered vaults were never expressed externally, but were always masked by a vertical wall and a sloping tile roof. (See, for example, S. Maria del Solario of Brescia, Plate 32, Fig. 2). They were probably erected with a solid centering. Traces of such are still extant at S. Ponzo Canavese (c. 1005).

The cloistered vault, usually octagonal, was adjusted to the rectangular substructure by means of squinches. This feature appears already rather fully developed in the earliest of the cloistered domes extant among Lombard edifices, that is, S. Satiro of Milan (Plate 130). It is therefore not possible to trace very much real evolution in the development of the squinch. At S. Ponzo Canavese (c. 1005) the lack of skill on the part of the builders is witnessed by a certain amount of squeezing in the upper part of the vault, but the squinch itself was clearly enunciated. In the contemporary church of S. Pietro in Valle (Plate 203, Fig. 1) there are similar fully developed squinches. Those of the baptistery of Galliano, dating from c. 1015, are entirely analogous. At Biella (c. 1040), however, a step in advance was taken. The squinches were given an extra order. From this time on such a construction became frequent, and is found—to mention one among many examples—in the cupola of S. Michele of Pavia (c. 1100). A further complication was

[3] Examples at S. Michele of Pavia (Plate 172), Casale (1107), S. Nazaro of Milan—c. 1112—(Plate 128, Fig. 1), S. Fedele of Como—c. 1115—(Plate 62), S. Stefano of Verona (c. 1120), S. Giovanni in Borgo of Pavia (c. 1120), etc.

introduced at S. Fermo di Sopra—c. 1125—(Plate 196A, Fig. 3). Here there are two sets of superimposed squinches, separated by a horizontal cornice. The tendency, it is clear, was constantly from simpler to more elaborated forms.

CHAPTER V. UNDOMED GROIN VAULTS

The undomed groin vault, well known to the Romans, undoubtedly remained in use throughout the Romanesque period in Lombardy. During the VIII century, however, the builders seem to have endeavoured to avoid this construction, perhaps because it was disproportionately expensive.[1] Among the meagre list of monuments of that age extant there is no instance of the use of groin vaults; in fact, in the crypt of S. Salvatore of Brescia (Plate 37, Fig. 1) the builders seem to have gone far out of their way to avoid a groin vault, erecting a cumbersome lintel construction instead. In the IX century undomed groin vaults of purely Roman type appear at S. Satiro of Milan, a monument built in the year 876 (Plate 129). In the XI and XII centuries vaults of this type continued occasionally to be erected, especially in localities where there was an abundance of wood to supply the necessary solid centering.[2]

All undomed groin vaults without ribs required a solid centering. Traces of such a centering are still extant at Aosta.

In numerous instances transverse ribs are introduced in connection with undomed groin vaults. When the dimensions were small, as in crypts, it was probably possible, by the aid of such arches, to construct undomed groin vaults without a solid centering. The desire to avoid unduly raising the choir may frequently have led the builders to construct vaults of this type, even when they dispensed with solid centering. In other

[1] It has already been observed that arches were prohibitively costly at this period.

[2] Examples in the eastern part of the crypt of the cathedral of Ivrea (c. 1000); at S. Benedetto di Lenno—1083—(Plate 102, Fig. 6, 7); at S. Pietro di Civate, narthex and crypt (c. 1095); at S. Giacomo of Como in eastern bay of northern side aisle (c. 1105); in the cathedral of Aosta (vaults c. 1010, in crypt and under campanili, similar vaults of a century later elsewhere), in the side aisles of Monastero di Capo di Ponte (c. 1090); in the narthex of Cavana (c. 1130).

instances, however, transverse arches appear to have been introduced from a different motive. By their help the space to be vaulted was divided into a series of rectangular compartments, in each one of which an undomed groin vault might be erected on a solid centering. By this device the same centering may have been moved about and made to serve for more than one vault. At all events it was not necessary to erect a complete centering under the entire space to be vaulted, as would otherwise have been required. It is evident that especially in crypts where there were a great number of intermediate supports breaking up the total area, this system would be of immense utility. Undomed groin vaults with disappearing transverse arches are found in the crypt of S. Orso of Aosta, an authentically dated monument of 923 (Plate 15, Fig. 1). I am fully prepared to believe that the construction is much older, but can name no earlier example in northern Italy. During the XI and XII centuries it was used very commonly,[3] and many of these vaults were constructed with a solid centering, indubitable traces of which still survive. Since no cerce was used, the webs could be formed of a mass of orderless rubble, and in some instances—as, for example, S. Vincenzo of Gravedona—we find them in fact so composed.

[3] Examples in S. Vincenzo of Galliano—1007—(Plate 96, Fig. 2), the crypt of the cathedral of Acqui (c. 1015 to 1067), the crypt of Oleggio (c. 1030), S. Benedetto of S. Pietro di Civate (c. 1045), the crypt of S. Vincenzo of Gravedona—1072—(Plate 100, Fig. 7), Monastero di Capo di Ponte (c. 1090), the crypt of S. Eufemia, Isola Comacina (c. 1095), Madonna del Castello of Almenno S. Salvatore (c. 1130), Monastero di Provaglio (c. 1130).

CHAPTER VI. DOMED GROIN VAULTS

I have endeavoured elsewhere[1] to throw light upon the constructive processes of mediæval vaulting, and to trace the principles which underlie the domed groin and the rib vault. Space does not permit that I should here restate, even in outline, the phenomena to which I have called attention in my earlier work, or the conclusions which may be drawn from them. I therefore assume familiarity on the part of the reader with the essential structural differences between the domed and the undomed groin vault, and with the details of the construction of the latter. I shall only remind him that the domed groin vault was erected without solid centering by means of a movable cerce and two wooden arches placed under the groin.[2]

An essential characteristic of the domed groin vault is the presence of wall and transverse ribs. In the rare instances where such are omitted, their place is taken, from a constructive standpoint, either by a temporary wooden arch that has been removed, or by an arch cut in the surface of the wall. A projecting ledge of some sort on which to hang the outer clinch of the cerce was a constructive necessity.

Frequently, however, it was desirable to eliminate, or at least to reduce the wall or transverse arches in the lower part of the vault. Below the 45 degree tangent, where the use of a cerce became necessary, the transverse rib had no function. Moreover, it often formed a load for which it was inconvenient to supply a corresponding member in the support. Especially was this the case in crypts where the supports were commonly monolithic

[1] *The Construction of Lombard and Gothic Vaults.*

[2] Since writing the earlier book I have observed clear traces of the cerce still remaining in the vaults of Castelletto Monastero. I have also found at Pallanza and Pizzo Corno other examples of groin vaults constructed with courses normal to the diagonal. At least the latter is, however, a later addition to the XII century church.

columns. The custom therefore arose of drowning, to a greater or less extent, in the massive of the vault, the previously constructed rib, below that point where the use of the cerce became necessary. Thus arose that system of dying transverse arches so characteristic of Lombard vaults, especially in crypts. (See Plate 1, Fig. 6, or Plate 96, Fig. 2, for a characteristic example). The resulting form of the arch with non-concentric extrados and intrados chanced to be a decorative motive of no small beauty and charm. It was soon adopted for purely ornamental reasons in arches unconnected with vaults (see, for example, the main-arcade arches at Lomello, Plate 108), and finally became one of the leading and most delightful ornamental motives of Italian Gothic. At times the loading of the crown of the transverse arches of domed groin vaults was carried to such an extreme that the rib becomes virtually a solid wall in which an arch is pierced far below. An example of such a construction occurs at Viboldone (c. 1190).

The domed groin vault was first used by the Byzantine builders in Constantinople. From thence it was imported into Italy in the VI century. There are still domed groin vaults of this period extant at S. Vitale of Ravenna, and undoubtedly others erected about the same time have disappeared. The construction, therefore, forms part of the heritage which the Lombard builders naturally took over from the Byzantine architects. However, there are extant no domed groin vaults erected in the VIII century in northern Italy. The earliest example of such which I know is found in the crypt of S. Vincenzo of Milan, and dates from c. 830. These vaults, it is true, have been recently restored, but there is no reason to suppose that the original forms have been materially altered. The disappearing ribs are fully developed. The conclusion therefore seems justified that at this early epoch the Lombard builders had already evolved the crypt vault in the form which it was destined to preserve practically unchanged for many centuries. Other early examples of similar vaults are extant in the crypts of S. Anastasio of Asti (c. 860), Agliate (c. 875), and in numerous later edifices that might be cited. Contrary to what

has been written, therefore, the crypt vault was developed at least as early as the IX century.

Domed groin vaults appear at SS. Tosca e Teuteria of Verona (c. 875) and in the side aisles flanking the choir at Agliate—c. 875—(Plate 5, Fig. 2). A similar vault was erected over the square apse of Settimo Vittone in 889. C. 990 the annular ambulatory of S. Stefano at Verona was covered with domed groin vaults (Plate 222, Fig. 1). Ten years later the small chapel of S. Fedelino was covered with a domed groin vault. The construction appears in 1005 in the campanile of S. Savino at Piacenza. It reappears on a small scale in the baptistery at Galliano (c. 1015). The earliest instance of a domed groin vault erected over the principal aisle of a basilica of any size is at S. Pietro of Acqui (c. 1015-1023), where the choir was groin-vaulted.[3] At Lomello—c. 1025—(Plate 107) we have the earliest example of side aisles groin-vaulted throughout.[4]

At Mazzone (c. 1030) an important advance was made. The nave of this church is groin-vaulted throughout (Plate 187, Fig. 2). This is the earliest vaulted basilica in Lombardy, and a vastly significant construction, since it bridges the gap between the wooden-roofed basilica of the type of Oleggio, and the rib-vaulted basilica such as Sannazzaro Sesia. Nor does the church of Mazzone stand alone among edifices of the second quarter of the XI century. Groin vaults were undoubtedly projected at Stradella (c. 1035). Although they were never erected, the dispositions of the system leave no room for doubt in regard to the intentions of the builders (Plate 208; Plate 210).

The rib vault, discovered at Sannazzaro Sesia in 1040, seems at first to have supplanted entirely the groin vault in the naves of basilicas—at least no groin-vaulted naves of the second half of the XI century have come down to us. In the XII century,

[3] Other groin-vaulted choirs may be found at S. Eufemia of Isola Comacina, S. Giacomo of Bellagio, S. Benedetto di Lenno (Plate 102, Fig. 6). Groin vaults were used in the transepts and probably also the choir of the cathedral of Piacenza.

[4] Later examples of groin-vaulted side aisles or galleries may be found at Pombia (c. 1030), Calvenzano (c. 1040), Sannazzaro Sesia—1040—(Plate 202, Fig. 1, 5), S. Severo of Bardolino (c. 1050), S. Lorenzo of Verona (c. 1110), etc.

however, there arose—as we have already frequently remarked—a reaction against the rib vault, a reaction undoubtedly caused by the fact that many of these vaults, owing to insufficient abutment, had proved to be insecure. The builders returned to earlier methods of construction. Among the old forms revived was the groin-vaulted nave. It first appears in the western bay of S. Savino of Piacenza—1107—(Plate 185). The nave of S. Remigio at Pallanza was covered with domed rib vaults c. 1130 (Plate 161, Fig. 2; Plate 162, Fig. 3). These vaults were erected on the uniform system. The nave of S. Teodoro of Pavia was groin-vaulted c. 1135 (Plate 180, Fig. 2), as was also that of S. Lanfranco in the same city c. 1136 (Plate 168, Fig. 2). The groin vault found its way even into that stronghold of the rib-vaulted construction, Milan, since one was projected in the eastern bay of the Chiesa Rossa in 1139. At Tronzano (c. 1140) groin vaults were erected over a nave on the alternate system.

Domed groin vaults are exceedingly common in crypts, galleries and side aisles of the XII century. They are almost always of the type with which we are already familiar, but a few constructive expedients of some interest are introduced. At Cavagnolo (c. 1140) the capitals of the transverse arches are set lower than those of the main arcade.[5] At S. Eusebio of Pavia, in the crypt vaults built c. 1150, diagonal ribs are introduced in the trapezoidal compartments to simplify the construction. Precisely similar vaults occur in the contemporary crypt of S. Agata at Santhià. At Vezzolano, in 1189, the transverse and wall ribs of the groin vaults are pointed (Plate 236, Fig. 2). Annular groin vaults, which it is interesting to compare with those I have already studied at S. Fedele of Como and S. Tommaso of Almenno,[6] are found at S. Lorenzo of Mantova. The main arcade arches are stilted, the wall arches depressed, the transverse arches loaded at the crowns, and the groins broken. The wall arches rise to the highest level; the groins are somewhat lower; the transverse arches lower still; while the main arcade

[5] Compare the side-aisle vaults at Morienval.

[6] *The Construction of Lombard and Gothic Vaults*, 26.

arches are lowest of all. Another interesting vaulting expedient may be observed at Cemmo, where the trapezoidal shape of a vaulting compartment is minimized by varying the thickness of the wall ribs.

There remains to be noticed one further development of the domed groin vault. In certain edifices such vaults are erected on a plan so excessively oblong that the doming in the longitudinal sense greatly exceeds that in the transverse sense, and the vault assumes something of the appearance of a barrel vault. There is a vault of this type in the church of S. Nicolò of Piona which dates from c. 1040, but the suspicion arises that the vault may have been reconstructed in later times, since there is extant no other example anterior to the XII century. Other instances of this construction may be found in the side aisles of S. Babila, Milan—c. 1120—(Plate 125, Fig. 3), at S. Giorgio of Almenno (c. 1120), at S. Giulia of Bonate di Sotto (1129), in the baptistery of Arsago (c. 1130), at Chiaravalle della Colomba (c. 1145), at Crescenzago (c. 1190), at Vicofertile (c. 1200), and S. Croce of Parma (1222).[7]

[7] Such vaults may occasionally have been erected with solid centering. There seems to be evidence that such was the case at S. Giorgio of Almenno.

CHAPTER VII. THE RIB VAULT

We have now arrived at the most dramatic moment in the history of the Lombard style, that in which was created the rib vault. There has hitherto been much doubt and uncertainty in regard to the origin of this all-important feature, since the monuments which prepared the way for its evolution have been unknown, and even the earliest examples of the rib vault itself have escaped observation. S. Ambrogio of Milan and S. Michele of Pavia, therefore, have stood out as isolated phenomena unrelated to preceding or succeeding edifices. When the monuments of the XI and XII centuries are viewed in the light of their historical evolution, uncertainties of chronology disappear.

We have already traced the rapid development of the Lombard style during the first four decades of the XI century. We have seen evolved in rapid succession the compound pier, the transverse arch, and the continuous system. We have found side aisles covered with domed groin vaults at Lomello as early as 1025. We have seen domed groin vaults on an oblong plan erected over the nave of Mazzone in 1030, and projected at Stradella five years later.

If we once grant—as we must grant—that the nave of Mazzone was covered with groin vaults c. 1030, it is necessary to admit the documentary evidence that the nave of Sannazzaro Sesia was rib-vaulted ten years later. The rib vault differs from the groin vault only in that the temporary centering of wood beneath the groin is replaced by a permanent centering of masonry. The step from the one to the other construction is easily made. Now, the church of Mazzone (Plate 187, Fig. 1, 2) differs from that of Sannazzaro Sesia (Plate 200; Plate 202, Fig. 1) in no essential characteristic either decorative or structural, except that a rib vault has been substituted for a groin vault.

The question naturally arises whether the rib vault was actually invented at Sannazzaro Sesia, or whether perhaps it may have been used earlier in edifices which have not come down to us. At Sannazzaro Sesia the rib vault was used not only in the great vaults of the nave, but in the vaults of the returned side aisle which crossed the nave. Now, in Lombardy, the rib vault found its chief utility in vaults of great span. In such constructions the enormous weight of the vault made the wooden centering such as would be required for a domed groin vault extremely difficult and expensive. It is natural to assume, therefore, that the rib vault was invented in the vaults of a nave rather than in the vaults of a side aisle. Only when the construction was still a novelty and the builders were carried away with enthusiasm for their new discovery (and then only rarely), was the rib vault employed in Lombardy in vaults of small dimensions. The construction was at all times principally, and in later times exclusively, confined to great vaults. There can, therefore, be little doubt but that it was discovered in connection with vaults of large dimensions. Since, therefore, at Sannazzaro Sesia it is used also in vaults of small dimensions, the suspicion arises that it was not there erected for the first time. It could not, however, have been discovered very much before, since for only a few years had the builders ventured to erect vaults over the naves of churches.

There is no doubt that the rib vault became exceedingly popular as soon as its advantages were realized. There are extant in the sacristy of the cathedral of Novara well preserved rib vaults which are about contemporary with those of Sannazzaro Sesia.[1] At S. Benedetto of S. Pietro di Civate a rib vault was projected over the crossing c. 1045. At Lodi Vecchio there is still extant in the side aisles a rib vault erected c. 1050 (Plate 104, Fig. 5), and there can be no doubt that originally the side aisles were rib-vaulted throughout. The rib vaults of S. Nazaro, Milan, erected 1075-c. 1093, are still extant, although

[1] The church of S. Colombano at Biandrate, only a few kilometres from Sannazzaro Sesia, has domed groin vaults. This is, however, an edifice of the XII century.

covered with modern decorations (Plate 128, Fig. 4). The nave of S. Ambrogio of Milan (Plate 116; Plate 119, Fig. 3, 4) and the eastern gallery of the atrium, were rib-vaulted in the last third of the XI century. The rib vaults of S. Anastasio of Asti were erected in 1091. The rib-vaulted Chiesa d'Aurona of Milan was finished in 1095. The nave of S. Pietro of Bologna was probably rib-vaulted about the same time, since the existing groin vaults appear to be an incorrect modern restoration. The rib-vaulted nave of Rivolta d'Adda (Plate 195) dates from c. 1099. S. Michele of Pavia was undoubtedly supplied with rib vaults c. 1100 (Plate 176, Fig. 5), although the upper part of this edifice was subsequently at least twice rebuilt. S. Savino of Piacenza, an authentically dated monument of 1107, has rib vaults in the eastern bays of the nave (Plate 185). The nave of S. Giovanni in Borgo of Pavia was rib-vaulted c. 1120, and the eastern bays of S. Eustorgio at Milan about the same time (Plate 127, Fig. 1).

We can not, therefore, complain that there are insufficient data for the study of the development of the rib vault in Lombardy from 1040 to 1120, although it is undoubtedly true that the great majority of monuments have perished. The fact seems to be that the Lombard builders never learned to make the construction secure. This will be evident when in the succeeding chapters we study their unavailing attempts to provide buttressing for the thrusts.

It is probable that the vaults stood well enough when they were first erected. However, the Arabs are said to have a proverb to the effect that the arch never sleeps; and after a half century of experiment the Lombard builders discovered this fact to their cost. The insufficiently buttressed vaults began to threaten ruin if they did not actually collapse. Of all the churches mentioned above as having been rib-vaulted, there are only three, S. Nazaro of Milan, S. Savino of Piacenza and Rivolta d'Adda, which preserve to the present day intact the rib vaults of their naves. In all the others the vaults which undoubtedly existed have been more or less completely destroyed. At S. Ambrogio of Milan we know that the vaults fell a century after

they had been completed. At S. Michele of Pavia the vaults have had to be more than once reconstructed.

The fact that the vaults proved insecure explains the entire history of the architecture of the XII century in Lombardy. It makes it clear why Lanfranco abandoned the rib-vaulted basilica, and returned to the old type with transverse arches. It explains why the domed groin vault was revived as a roofing for the nave. It explains many experiments and changes in rib-vaulted construction which we have yet to study.

Probably the vaults might have been somewhat more secure had they continued to be built on a uniform system like that of Sannazzaro Sesia. In such a vault the thrusts are discharged at every pier. In the alternate system, however, the thrusts are concentrated on every other pier, and are therefore twice as powerful.

The alternate system was adopted as a matter of economy. By using it the builders could erect a vault on six arches instead of the eleven required for the same space on the uniform system. Since the advantage of the rib vault was economy of centering, it was logical to carry the system of Sannazzaro Sesia one step farther and construct the vaults of the nave on an alternate system. This was in fact done at S. Ambrogio of Milan (Plate 116; Plate 119, Fig. 3, 4), and in all the churches with rib vaults of the second half of the XI century and early years of the XII century that have come down to us.

The fact that few monuments of the third quarter of the XI century are extant probably indicates that at this period the builders so little understood the thrusts of their vaults that the buildings have generally perished. What evidence we have seems to indicate that the rib vault became the passion of the hour, and was taken up with an enthusiasm as great as that displayed by the French builders half a century later.

In the early years of the XII century, as has been stated, the builders perceived that rib vaults, such as had been built in the preceding half century, were insecure. The discovery checked suddenly the development of the Lombard style. It was necessary to construct buildings which should stand without

danger, and the builders resorted to a number of expedients in order to compass this result. Some, and they were perhaps the majority, abandoned the rib vault altogether. Others devoted their energies to discovering means to give greater stability to the construction.

This was accomplished by returning to the uniform system used at Sannazzaro Sesia and subsequently abandoned in favour of the alternate system. The earliest extant edifice in which the uniform system was revived is probably S. Babila of Milan—c. 1120—(Plate 125, Fig. 3), although the existing vaults are of the barrel type. The uniform system was certainly used at S. Giulia of Bonate di Sotto in 1129. It was projected at Cascina S. Trinità (c. 1130), and actually carried out, in all probability, at S. Maria del Popolo of Pavia about the same time (Plate 171, Fig. 2, 3). S. Pietro in Ciel d'Oro of Pavia, consecrated in 1132, undoubtedly had a nave with uniform rib vaults (Plate 178, Fig. 4), although the existing ones are obviously reconstructions. The uniform system was similarly tried in the western bays of S. Eustorgio of Milan (c. 1135), and in the destroyed church of S. Maria Maggiore of Vercelli, erected in 1148. Similar vaults are still extant in the nave of the cathedral of Parma—1162—(Plate 166, Fig. 1), and at S. Bernardo of Vercelli—1164—(Plate 215, Fig. 2). They survived as late as c. 1165 at S. Maria Canale of Cortona (Plate 211, Fig. 5). On the other hand, the last nave to be rib-vaulted on the alternate system,[2] so far as I have evidence, was that of S. Giorgio in Palazzo at Milan, erected 1129. When the construction was revived at Vezzolano in 1189 (Plate 236, Fig. 3), or at Borgo in 1207 (Plate 30, Fig. 4), it was with pointed arches, which greatly reduced the thrust of the vaults.

If we are to believe a drawing of Mella, a rib vault was erected under the central tower of Cavagnolo (c. 1140). If so, this is undoubtedly an example of French influence. Rib vaults were regularly used under towers in the Ile-de-France for reasons I have explained elsewhere.[3] The only other instance of such

[2] Excepting, of course, Cistercian churches which will be studied later.

[3] *The Construction of Lombard and Gothic Vaults*, 12.

a usage in Lombardy, however, is in the church of Berceto (Plate 22, Fig. 4), built c. 1220 under strong French influence.

Rib-vaulted choirs of the XII century are found at S. Giorgio of Almenno (Plate 11, Fig. 8, 9), Montechiarugolo (Plate 148, Fig. 2), and Varese. At Careno a rib vault of thoroughly Lombard type was erected as late as 1494.

At S. Eustorgio of Milan the vaults erected c. 1185 have projecting ribs on the extradoses. There is a similar disposition in the vaults of S. Ambrogio of Milan, but in neither case is it clear whether these excrescences are or are not gratuitous additions of the restorers. It is not impossible that in the case of very large vaults the ribs may have been made enormously thick—thicker, indeed, than the vault—for the sake of additional strength. It is well known that such vaults occur in England, where the ribs are allowed to penetrate the entire thickness of the vault, and sometimes emerge on the extrados. A bevelled edge is then provided to support the massive of the vault. The enormous size of Lombard vaults placed a great weight on the diagonals during construction, and it may therefore have been felt necessary to make the ribs of extraordinary thickness. I know, however, of no indubitable instance of the diagonal penetrating into or through the thickness of the vault.

Still other experiments were tried by the builders in their efforts to discover a type of rib vault which should be entirely secure. Among these certainly the most interesting was the sexpartite form of vault. The sexpartite type was a compromise between the uniform and alternate system, combining, to a certain extent, the advantages of both. A double bay could be vaulted on the sexpartite system with seven arches, one more than was required with a quadripartite alternate system, but four less than necessitated by the quadripartite uniform system. On the other hand, part of the weight was discharged upon the intermediate piers, so that less thrust was exerted against the alternate piers than with the alternate quadripartite system, but more than with the uniform quadripartite system. The design of the cathedral of Cremona, an edifice which was begun in 1107 (Plate 84, Fig. 3) seems to leave no doubt that it was the original

intention of the builders to erect a sexpartite vault, although the plan was subsequently abandoned. Similar vaults were undoubtedly projected at Piacenza (Plate 181, Fig. 5) as early as 1122, although they were actually erected only in the XIII century. Similarly, the system of the cathedral of Parma (Plate 166, Fig. 1) shows that sexpartite vaults were there projected early in the XII century, although in 1162 the plan was changed and the existing quadripartite vaults were actually built. These are, to the extent of my knowledge, the only indications of the sexpartite vault in Lombardy, but an actual example of the construction is extant at S. Panerazio of Corneto (Plate 79), an edifice erected c. 1160 under Lombard influence. The premises are slight, but seem, nevertheless, sufficient to force the conclusion that the sexpartite rib vault was known in Lombardy some thirty years before it appeared in the Ile-de-France. If this be so, a strange and unexpected light is thrown upon the difficult question of the genesis of that important feature in northern architecture.

One other development of rib-vaulted construction remains to be noticed. The narthex of Casale is vaulted with a complex system of intersecting ribs, best explained by the illustrations (Plate 46, Fig. 1, 2; Plate 47, Fig. 2; Plate 43, Fig. 5). Such a vault is to the extent of my knowledge absolutely without analogy elsewhere in Lombardy. It at once recalls the vault of the mosque of Cordoba (Plate 43, Fig. 6), but whether there is direct connection between the two, and if so which is the original and which is the copy, can only be established when the date of the Cordoba construction is demonstrated.

True Lombard rib vaults always had all the ribs, including the diagonals, of rectangular profile. All the vaults which we have considered up to the present are of this type. One of the first innovations introduced by the builders of the Ile-de-France when they commenced c. 1100 to experiment with the rib vault was to profile the diagonals. French vaults were constructed of stone which lent itself much more readily than brick to this treatment. The mouldings of the profile in the stone were cut after the vault was completed, whereas brick can not be cut to

a profile, and each voussoir would have to be separately cast in the desired shape. Accordingly, elaborate profiles were never introduced in the ribs of Lombard vaults. The Cistercians, however, adopted from France a simple torical or semi-cylindrical profile. Such vaults appear for the first time in the Cistercian abbey of Albino (Plate 1, Fig. 1)—1134-1136—and are obviously copied from rib vaults in the north executed in stone. Compare, for example, the ribs in the crypt of the cathedral of Gloucester (Plate 1, Fig. 5), or those of the narthex of St.-Leu-d'Esserent. The Cistercians, who had probably learned the principles of buttressing in the North, were soon able to apply this profile to vaults constructed on the quadripartite alternate system, as at Chiaravalle Milanese—1135—(Plate 55, Fig. 1), Cerreto—c. 1140—(Plate 52, Fig. 3), Chiaravalle della Colomba—c. 1145—(Plate 53, Fig. 2), and Rivalta Scrivia—1180—(Plate 192, Fig. 2). Subsequently, however, the Cistercians, too, abandoned the alternate system in favour of the uniform system, while retaining the toric profile of the diagonal, as at Morimondo (Plate 154, Fig. 2). Vaults of Cistercian type appear towards the end of the XII century, first in churches constructed directly under Cistercian influence, like Crescenzago—c. 1190—(Plate 87, Fig. 3) or Viboldone—1186—(Plate 239, Fig. 2), and finally in churches in which it is possible to establish no such connection.[4]

Attempts have been made to determine the date of vaulted Lombard edifices by assuming that in earlier times galleries were erected to abut the thrust of the vaults, whereas in later times the vaults were boldly raised over a clearstory. This does not seem to be in accordance with the facts. The earliest vaulted edifice (Mazzone) has a clearstory below the vaults, and no gallery (Plate 187, Fig. 2). At Sannazzaro Sesia, it is true, there is a gallery and the clearstory is omitted, but at S. Babila of Milan the clearstory is also omitted as late as c. 1120

[4] Such as Brebbia—1190—(Plate 30, Fig. 6), the cathedral of Cremona (c. 1190), the later portions of S. Maria di Castello of Corneto (Plate 77, Fig. 6, 7), and the side aisles of S. Maria Maggiore at Lomello, rebuilt in the late XII or the XIII century.

(Plate 125, Fig. 3), although in numerous earlier edifices such as Rivolta d'Adda—c. 1099—(Plate 195), or S. Savino of Piacenza—1107—(Plate 184), there is a high clearstory. The fact is, as we have already observed and shall see more clearly in the following chapters, the Lombard builders quite failed to grasp the theory of vault thrusts, and did not perceive that it was necessary to provide abutment. The presence of a gallery or a clearstory, therefore, seems to have been a purely accidental feature of design, and there is no evidence that when the builders did buttress the nave vaults by constructing a vaulted gallery and omitting the clearstory they did so by intention rather than by chance.

It remains to trace the diffusion of the rib vault in the regions surrounding Lombardy and even far distant. If a chart should be compiled recording the extant examples of early rib vaults in Europe, it would be found that Lombardy is almost exactly the geographical centre of the construction. Moreover the types of vault found in various provinces show much closer analogy to the Lombard vault than to each other, thus indicating that the Lombard type is the common parent of all.

Certainly the most interesting school of rib-vaulted edifices outside of Lombardy, and one that has as yet been but very imperfectly explored, is that of central and southern Italy. At S. Robano near Grosseto (Plate 201, Fig. 3, 4), in several churches of Corneto Tarquinia (Plates 65 to 81), at Montefiascone (Plate 149; Plate 150; Plate 151; Plate 152, Fig. 1, 2, 3, 4, 5), and at Aversa (Plate 17), are found rib vaults of thoroughly Lombard character, that is to say, about square in plan, and with rectangular diagonals. The fact that the diagonals are rectangular is conclusive proof that these vaults were derived from Lombardy and not from northern France, for in northern France the ribs were profiled.

It has, indeed, been supposed that the rib vault originated, not in northern Italy, but at Montefiascone. This hypothesis was based upon documentary evidence that the church of Montefiascone was built in the second quarter of the XI century. The decorative characteristics of the building, however, amply

demonstrate that the rib vaults belong to a reconstruction of a century later. The ambulatory of Aversa, formerly assigned to 1080, clearly dates from the XII century, as is proved both by documentary evidence and the style of the architecture.

The true chronology of the rib-vaulted edifices of central Italy may be established by comparison of their decorative characteristics with those of neighbouring buildings of the XI and XII centuries, and especially with the church of S. Maria di Castello of Corneto. This is the most important of all the rib-vaulted edifices of the South, and is of double interest because an unequalled series of authentic inscriptions makes it possible to place a date upon every stone. It results that in central Italy, in the year 1121, was begun a church of the first magnitude, rib-vaulted throughout on the alternate system (Plate 73; Plate 74; Plate 75; Plate 76, Fig. 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7; Plate 77, Fig. 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8). The dispositions of this edifice could only have been derived from Lombardy. The rectangular diagonals, the quadripartite rib vaults on an alternate system, the compound piers, the character of the ornament, all prove a Lombard origin. It should, moreover, be remembered that St.-Étienne of Beauvais, the earliest rib-vaulted nave in the Ile-de-France, was not built until c. 1125.

Using S. Maria di Castello as a point of departure for chronological comparison, and bearing in mind also the decorative characteristics of other authentically dated monuments of the region, we may deduce that the earliest of the rib-vaulted edifices of central Italy are S. Robano (Plate 201, Fig. 3, 4) and S. Giacomo of Corneto (Plate 68; Plate 69; Plate 70, Fig. 1, 2, 3, 5, 6). Both appear to have been erected in the last decade of the XI century. Borrowings from the Lombard style are confined to the rib vault, and no trace of Lombard ornament appears. It is evident that the builders adapted the rib vault because it could be constructed without wood (which is almost non-procurable at Corneto), and that, not daring to apply it to a columnar basilica,—such as, for example, S. Martino at Corneto,—the type of edifice in use at the time, they at first confined themselves to single-aisled chapels. When the rib vault

had once been introduced at Corneto the builders returned, so far as I have evidence, only once (at S. Salvatore, Plate 81, Fig. 6), to the wooden-roofed type. The Annunziata of Corneto (Plate 65; Plate 66, Fig. 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6) built in the early years of the XII century, shows that the builders had gained a certain ease in dealing with the Lombard construction; but there is still only a single aisle. At S. Maria di Castello, as has been said, the Lombard system of construction was adopted in its entirety, and henceforward became acclimatized at Corneto. It even appears at times that Lombard features found their way through the medium of the local style of Corneto into the architecture of surrounding regions. In the Ospedale di Capranica, at Rome, is a portal very Cornetan in style and showing a mixture of elements ultimately Lombard and French. The churches of S. Martino sul Cimino and of S. Lorenzo at Amaseno seem to have been as much influenced by the local style of Corneto as by that of Cistercian monasteries. At Montefiascone (c. 1130) the builders, being obliged to erect difficult vaults in the annular side aisle (Plate 149; Plate 150; Plate 151, Fig. 5; Plate 152, Fig. 1, 2) had recourse to adopting the rib vault. So little were they accustomed, however, to the construction, that they failed to supply proper supports for the diagonals, which are splayed off (Plate 150; Plate 151, Fig. 5; Plate 152, Fig. 1, 2). The builders of Montefiascone undoubtedly derived their inspiration in part at least from Lombardy direct, since certain capitals are of unmistakably Lombard character (Plate 151, Fig. 2; Plate 152, Fig. 1). There is no trace of French influence at Montefiascone.

Somewhat later rib vaults were introduced in the ambulatory of Aversa for an entirely similar reason. The vaults themselves with rectangular diagonals (Plate 17, Fig. 1, 2) are of Lombard character, although there are extant in Lombardy no annular rib vaults of the Romanesque period. The ambulatory itself, however, is thoroughly French in type, and certain capitals (Plate 16, Fig. 2) suggest that the builders were influenced simultaneously by both France and Lombardy.

Rib vaults of the Lombard type continued to be used

throughout the XII century at Corneto. We find them, for example, in the various chapels of S. Giovanni (Plate 71; Plate 72, Fig. 2, 3, 4) and at S. Francesco, a church which I ascribe to c. 1165-c. 1185, although it may be later.

The builders of Corneto soon turned from Lombard to French models. A single church—that of S. Giovanni—illustrates admirably the gradual influx of this French influence, and how the Lombard elements were crowded out. The different parts of this building date from c. 1115 (Plate 72, Fig. 2), c. 1165 (Plate 72, Fig. 3), c. 1200 (Plate 72, Fig. 4), c. 1220 (the choir, Plate 72, Fig. 1), c. 1225 (the apse, Plate 72, Fig. 1), and c. 1230 (Plate 72, Fig. 5, 6). The first parts are completely Lombard, the last absolutely French. French influence does not become noticeable until after the middle of the XII century. We detect it at S. Pancrazio (c. 1160) in the pointed arches of the portals and transverse arches, in the buttresses and in the capitals (Plate 78; Plate 79; Plate 80, Fig. 1, 3, 4, 5; Plate 81, Fig. 1, 2, 3, 4, 5). The sexpartite vaults are, however, thoroughly Lombard in character, as will be evident if we compare their rectangular ribs (Plate 80, Fig. 1) with the moulded ribs of St.-Étienne of Caen (Plate 80, Fig. 2). Certain capitals of this church preserve more or less Lombard character (Plate 81, Fig. 1, 2), even alongside of features distinctively French, such as crockets (Plate 81, Fig. 2). At S. Francesco—which I suppose to have been begun c. 1165—there are no pointed arches (Plate 67, Fig. 1, 3, 4, 5) except in the façade of c. 1185 (Plate 67, Fig. 6), and the Gothic apses and transepts (Plate 67, Fig. 2). The pointed arch appears in the western chapel on the northern side of S. Giovanni—c. 1200—(Plate 72, Fig. 4). The vaults were given Gothic profiles in the choir of the Annunziata—c. 1225—(Plate 65) and in the absidioles of S. Giovanni—c. 1230—(Plate 72, Fig. 5, 6), as has already been observed.[5]

The result, therefore, of an examination of the rib-vaulted edifices of central and southern Italy has been to convince us

[5] See the list of monuments for a fuller discussion of Lombard and French influence at Corneto.

that the rib vault was there introduced from Lombardy in the last decade of the XI century.

It would take us too far afield to pass in review the rib-vaulted edifices of other provinces. I can not forbear to observe, however, that the early rib vaults of Provence, such as those of Fréjus[6] (Plate 70, Fig. 4), Marseilles[7] and Moissac[8] are of purely Lombard type, that is to say, the diagonals are rectangular. The rib vaults of the cathedral of Toulouse reproduce those of Varese. Even in northern France the most primitive rib vaults, like those of Quimperlé (Plate 50, Fig. 3), Aey-en-Multien[9] and Crouy-sur-Ourcq,[10] have heavy rectangular diagonals. On the other side of Italy precisely similar vaults are to be found in the interesting and still unpublished Stifskirche at Innichen, in the Tyrol. The construction penetrated even into Dalmatia[11] and Hungary.

[6] Illustrated in my *Construction of Lombard and Gothic Vaults,* Fig. 19.
[7] Illustrated, *ibid.,* Fig. 20. [8] Illustrated, *ibid.,* Fig. 18.
[9] Illustrated, *ibid.,* Fig. 14. [10] Illustrated, *ibid.,* Fig. 13.
[11] According to Eitelberger (IV, 169, Tafel XIII) the church of S. Nicolò at Nona has a rib vault. Cf. Ugo Monneret de Villard, *L'Architettura Romanica in Dalmazia,* Milano, Alfieri e Lacroix, 1910. 12mo.

CHAPTER VIII. BUTTRESSES

It is not possible to doubt that the Romans occasionally erected salient buttresses. In addition to the fine example in the amphitheatre of Champlieu which I have published,[1] and those of the baths of Diocletian and the destroyed edifice near the Vatican published by Rivoira,[2] a clear instance has lately been illustrated in the ruins of Chester in England.[3] Indeed, the construction was known even to the Egyptians, since it is found in the temenos of the Osireion at Abydos. It is clear, however, that the Romans never perceived in the buttress any possibilities of architectural or decorative development, that they studiously avoided it wherever walls could be made to stand by any other means, and that it was only employed in places where decoration was entirely subordinated to utilitarian considerations. In short, it was considered merely a mean and ugly makeshift, much as we should regard to-day an unsightly prop applied to a stone building.

Whether or not the Lombard builders inherited the buttress directly from the Romans, or whether they evolved it anew for themselves, there can be no doubt that they always regarded the construction in much the same spirit that the Romans had done. They always adopted it reluctantly, and abandoned it wherever it was possible to do so, and even in some cases where subsequent experience proved that it could not be abandoned with safety. In Italy there persisted even in the Middle Ages a certain feeling for the classic in design, a dislike of the picturesquely rugged and broken features which give so much character to northern edifices. The builders preferred wall surfaces either entirely flat, or broken only by restrained pilaster strips, and were hence loath to introduce buttresses of sufficient projection to increase in any

[1] See my *Construction of Lombard and Gothic Vaults*, Fig. 3.
[2] 96. [3] *Art and Archæology*, I, 54.

really vital manner the stability of their vaults. Thus, throughout the XI and XII centuries they employed buttresses in a desultory and half-hearted manner. While they seem to have grasped the structural advantages of the construction at a comparatively early date, they seldom applied it logically or consistently, and were constantly endeavouring to dispense entirely with its aid.

The earliest instance of a buttress which I know is to be found in the apse of S. Vincenzo at Galliano, which was erected in the year 1007. This buttress could hardly have been built for any real structural reasons. It is placed between the apse and the absidiole, at the point where the wall is strongest, and consequently in least need of being buttressed, and also at the point where the thrust of the vault is felt to a minimum extent. Hardly more functional were the buttresses of the façade of the same edifice (Plate 96, Fig. 3), which appear to be part of the original construction of 1007.

No further buttresses are met with for some time. Even a great church like Lomello, with vaulted side aisles and transverse arches exerting powerful thrusts, was erected absolutely without their aid (Plate 106; Plate 107; Plate 110, Fig. 1, 2). But in the poorly constructed little country church of Oleggio, erected c. 1030, and almost without vaults (Plate 160), we find a real buttress of 26 centimetres projection. That is to say, the buttress was used only in the unimportant and somewhat carelessly built edifice. There is no trace of a buttress in the great and important cathedral of Acqui, built c. 1015-1067. It would be easy to cite numerous similar instances, continuing throughout the XI and a good part of the XII century. It is evident that buttresses were used with the utmost reluctance, and were avoided whenever possible in monumental buildings.

The baptistery of Biella, erected c. 1040 (Plate 24, Fig. 2), has buttresses singularly like those of Galliano. They are placed in the angles between the apses, where the wall is strongest, and where there is a minimum of thrust. Such a construction seems to imply that the builders had very imperfect knowledge of the principles of buttressing. In the contemporary baptistery of

Novara (Plate 156, Fig. 3), however, buttresses (albeit weak ones) are placed on the angles. Although ineffective against the thrust of the cloistered vault, these buttresses doubtless stiffen the wall indifferently well. About the same time the builders of Stradella showed that they perfectly understood the principle of a buttress by erecting one on the south side of the nave to resist a movement which had developed in the masonry (Plate 208; Plate 211, Fig. 2). It would be easy to fill many pages with the inconsistencies of the Lombard builders in the matter of buttresses. Buttresses were used to reinforce the transverse arches of the clearstory at S. Carpoforo of Como (c. 1028-1140), but they were omitted c. 1090 in the clearstory of Monastero di Capo di Ponte (Plate 146, Fig. 2), although that edifice is vaulted and the side-aisle walls, which receive much lighter thrusts, are provided with buttresses. Suffice it to say that by the end of the XI century the builders were able to erect a logical system of buttresses—at least for the side-aisle walls—when they so desired. Witness the vigorous buttresses of the Badia di Vertemate (1083-1095) or of S. Giacomo di Bellagio (c. 1095). At Rivolta d'Adda (c. 1099) there is even a logical alternation in the buttresses corresponding to the alternation of the system (Plate 193).

The Lombard builders made one serious attempt to turn the utilitarian buttress into an ornamental architectural feature. They made it triangular or prismatic in plan. A buttress of this section would be as strong as, if not stronger than, a rectangular one, if the same amount of brick were employed in its construction; but the Lombard builders, in their dislike of breaking up the exterior surfaces of their building, rarely gave buttresses of this type sufficient size to make them really effective. The earliest example I know of a buttress of this form is the one already mentioned at Stradella—c. 1035—(Plate 208; Plate 211, Fig. 2). Prismatic buttresses appear at S. Nazaro of Milan—1075-c. 1093—(Plate 128, Fig. 3), at S. Ambrogio of Milan, at S. Pietro of Bologna (c. 1095), at S. Lorenzo of Verona—1110—(Plate 219, Fig. 2), at S. Stefano of Verona (c. 1120), at S. Zeno of Verona (Plate 224, Fig. 1; Plate 225, Fig. 1; Plate 234,

Fig. 2), in the clearstory of the cathedral of Parma (1162) and in the baptistery of Cremona—1167—(Plate 83, Fig. 6).

In the XII century there continued—though perhaps to a somewhat less degree—the same inconsistency and hesitation in the use of buttresses. Thus, they are omitted at S. Giacomo of Como (c. 1105), but are used in the country church of Vaprio d'Adda—c. 1115—(Plate 212, Fig. 4). At S. Giovanni in Borgo of Pavia (c. 1120) there were vigorous buttresses, but they were uniform, whereas the system was alternate. In the church of Monastero di Provaglio, built c. 1130, and in which at least the side aisles must have been vaulted, there are no buttresses at all (Plate 147, Fig. 1), although in the contemporary church of Pallanza there are buttresses of 24 centimetres projection (Plate 162, Fig. 1), and at Mont'Orfano (c. 1145) buttresses were built of 60 centimetres projection. Similar buttresses were added about 1140 to the earlier apse of Calvenzano (Plate 39, Fig. 1). At S. Pancrazio of Corneto (c. 1160) there are vigorous buttresses alternating with the system (Plate 78), but in this edifice we are already in the presence of French influence. French influence probably also accounts for the superior buttressing of the Cistercian churches of Lombardy, such as, for example, Chiaravalle della Colomba—c. 1145—(Plate 53, Fig. 3) and Morimondo—1186—(Plate 154, Fig. 4) and in edifices erected under Cistercian influence, such as Vezzolano (1189), Lodi (c. 1190) or Crescenzago (Plate 87, Fig. 2). Even in these examples, however, the system is far from being exploited to its utmost possibilities. All told, the experiments of the Lombard builders with this essential structural adjunct of the vault must be pronounced half-hearted, vacillating and unsuccessful.

CHAPTER IX. TRANSVERSE BUTTRESSES

It was, I think, Rivoira who first pointed out the important, and, it now seems, obvious fact, that transverse buttresses entirely analogous to those of Lombard edifices are found in Roman ruins, such as the basilica of Constantine or the baths of Diocletian. These cross walls of solid masonry were erected over the transverse arches of side aisles in order to buttress the thrusts of the vaults of the central nave. It is hardly possible to doubt that the Lombard builders copied this feature from Roman ruins.

It must be admitted, however, that they adopted it only with great reluctance and at a late date. The clearstory walls in the XI century were generally left to shift for themselves without even the aid of flat buttresses. When the vaults of a gallery to some extent counteracted the thrusts of the great vaults of the nave—as at Sannazzaro Sesia or S. Ambrogio of Milan—such an arrangement, as we have seen, seems to have been due largely to chance. The fact that the clearstories of churches in the XI century were not reinforced accounts for the instability of the vaults erected at that period.

When, in the XII century, the builders began to realize that measures must be adopted to remedy the instability of their vaults, they probably copied the transverse buttresses of the Romans.[1] The earliest example of transverse buttresses extant is to be found at S. Michele of Pavia, c. 1100. The original transverse buttresses here seem to have been uniform, although the system is alternate (Plate 175, Fig. 2)—an arrangement which shows a complete failure to grasp the structural necessities of the situation. Similarly at S. Savino of Piacenza (1107), as

[1] There is perhaps an early attempt to work out an original form of buttressing in the Duomo Vecchio of Brescia. The dome is said to be buttressed by a little barrel vault, and the upper part is constructed of lighter stone.

the section (Plate 184) will show, transverse buttresses are applied in the most irregular and haphazard manner. One gets the impression that the builders heartily disliked to spoil the exterior effect of their building by erecting these clumsy accessories. Certain it is that they kept them as low as possible, and sometimes omitted them altogether, even in places where structural expediency absolutely demanded their presence. Transverse buttresses appear at Cremona in those portions of the cathedral constructed between 1107 and 1117. At S. Fedele of Como—c. 1115—(Plate 61; Plate 64, Fig. 4) they were used to reinforce the transverse arches of the nave. They appear at S. Babila c. 1120. From this time onward they were employed whenever the builders did not dare to dispense with their aid, but never with enthusiasm. They were kept as inconspicuous as possible, and sometimes—as at Borgo S. Donnino—they were even completely concealed beneath the aisle roofs. Occasionally they were pierced with passage-ways—as at Sagra S. Michele—(Plate 196, Fig. 7), but they never attained the character of a true flying buttress.[2]

The system is used with great inconsistency, since the buttresses were commonly applied at a point far too low on the clearstory walls to resist adequately the thrust of the vaults. The construction seems to have been worked out best—or perhaps it would be more exact to say, least ineffectively—in Cistercian churches such as Chiaravalle Milanese (Plate 54, Fig. 1), Cerreto (Plate 52, Fig. 1), Chiaravalle della Colomba (Plate 53, Fig. 3), Rivalta Scrivia (Plate 192, Fig. 1) and Morimondo (Plate 154, Fig. 4). On the whole, the transverse buttress seems to have proved to be a lamentable failure. It was because the Lombard builders were unable to discover a method of meeting adequately the thrust of their vaults that the brilliant beginnings of the XI century did not bear their promised fruit, and that the Lombards left it to the French to carry the rib vault to its fitting and logical development.

[2] Examples of transverse buttresses may be found at Isola S. Giulio (c. 1120), the cathedral of Parma (1162), Vezzolano (1189), Lodi (c. 1190), etc.

CHAPTER X. TIE-RODS AND OTHER CONSTRUCTIVE EXPEDIENTS

If buttresses and transverse buttresses were regarded by the Lombard builders as ugly and purely utilitarian makeshifts, the same attitude applied—and with more reason—to the third expedient adopted for counteracting the thrusts of a vault, that is to say, tie-rods. Constructively the device is immensely clever. The two thrusts of the arch are made to oppose each other and thus secure equilibrium for the construction. Æsthetically the effect is lamentable.

There can be little doubt that the Lombard builders were acquainted with the principles of the tie-rod, even if it is not possible to cite specific instances where it was certainly used. Numerous vaults and arches are at present sustained by tie-rods, which probably were built with the intention that they should stand without this support. The first aid to a building which shows signs of instability owing to improperly buttressed vaults or arches is to apply tie-rods. It is therefore exceedingly difficult to determine how many of the tie-rods which at present exist in Lombard buildings are original, and how many have been added at a subsequent epoch in consequence of some movement in the masonry. The construction thus probably originated in repairs to vaults intended to stand without its aid.[1] In the Gothic period it is certain that many buildings were erected which depended for their stability from the beginning upon tie-rods. It is probable that some edifices of the XII century were provided with this brace when first constructed, although I can name only one specific edifice, S. Sepolcro at Bologna, where there is reason to believe that this was the case. Tie-rods were often of wood

[1] According to Choisy (*Byzantins,* 117) tie-rods were known to the Byzantine architects.

as well as of metal. Wooden tie-rods, however, are liable to rot and deteriorate with age, leaving the thrusts of the arches suddenly unprovided for.

The vicious habit of mixing wood with stone in the masonry was an old one in Lombardy, and appears occasionally to have been practised at all epochs. The pendentives of the chapel of S. Satiro at S. Ambrogio of Milan were constructed of wood, and wooden chains are introduced into the masonry of the Campanile dei Monaci in the same basilica. Wooden chains are found also in the dome of S. Sepolcro of Bologna, constructed c. 1160. In all these cases the purpose was undoubtedly to tie the construction together and prevent the walls from splitting or cracking.

Relieving arches occur in the XII century, as, for example, at Almenno S. Bartolomeo, or above the gallery vaults in the cathedral of Parma. The principle must have been known at a much earlier epoch. The characteristic form of the Italian Romanesque portal undoubtedly originated in a relieving arch placed over a flat lintel, in order that the weight of the wall might not crush the latter. (See, for example, Plate 142, Fig. 4; Plate 143, Fig. 3).

CHAPTER XI. ROOFING EXPEDIENTS

The compelling reason for the evolution of the rib vault was the desire to economize wood. The most important indications that such is the case I have studied elsewhere,[1] so that it is needless to return to the question here.[2]

Not satisfied with reducing the consumption of wood

[1] *The Construction of Lombard and Gothic Vaults.*

[2] I can not, however, forbear calling attention to documentary evidences of the difficulty of obtaining large timbers in the Middle Ages, which have come to my notice since the publication of the earlier book. The most interesting is the correspondence of Gregory the Great in regard to the timbers for the roof of S. Pietro in Rome. These timbers had to be brought all the way from the Abruzzi at immense expense:

Gregorius Arogi duci.

Quia sic de gloria vestra sicut revera de filio nostro confidimus, petere aliqua a vobis fiducialiter provocamur, arbitrantes quod minime nos patiamini contristari, maxime in tali re unde anima vestra multum poterit adjuvari. Indicamus autem propter ecclesias beatorum Petri et Pauli aliquantas nobis trabes necessarias esse; et ideo Savino subdiacono nostro injunximus de partibus Brutiorum aliquantas incidere, et usque ad mare in locum aptum trahere debeat. Et quia in hac re solatiis indiget, salutantes gloriam vestram paterna charitate, petimus ut actionariis vestris, qui in illo loco sunt deputetis, ut homines qui sub eis sunt cum bobus suis in ejus transmittere debeant solatium, quatenus, vobis concurrentibus, melius quod ei injunximus possit perficere. Nos enim promittimus quis dum res perfecta fuerit, dignum vobis xenium, quod non sit injuriosum, transmittemus. Nam scimus nos considerare, et filiis nostris qui bonam voluntatem exhibent respondere. . . . (Sancti Gregorii Magni *Epistolarum,* Lib. XII, Indict. V, Epist. XXI, ed. Migne, *Pat. Lat.,* LXXVII, 1231).

Gregorius Gregorio expræfecto.

Scientes quanta erga beatorum Petri et Pauli ecclesias in gloriæ vestræ mente maneat dilectio, vestrum nobis post Deum adjutorium scriptis decurrentibus adhibere necessario procuramus, confidentes vos facile et devote quidquid pro earum utilitate cognoscitis impertiri, quibus gloriam vestram etiam sponte non dubitamus velle præstare. Et ideo quia in prædictis ecclesiis trabes omnino sunt necessariæ, atque Savino subdiacono ut interim usque ad viginti incidere festinet et ad mare trahere debeat injunximus, paterno salutantes affectu, petimus ut gloria vestra de possessionibus quas illic in emphitheosim habet hac in re homines cum bobus suis faciat præbere solatia, quatenus et ipse vestra opitulatione suffultus ad ea explenda quæ sibi injuncta sunt possit esse idoneus, et vos mercedem valeatis acquirere. . . . (*Ibid.,* Epist. XXII).

Epist. XX, *ibid.,* 1230, is a similar letter to Maurentius, *magister militum,* asking him to forward the letter to Arichio and explaining its contents. Other documents proving the value of wood in the Middle Ages may be found *Hist. Pat. Mon.,* XIII, 769, 1185, 1187, 1272, 1220, 1550, 1571, and in Muratori, A. I. M. A., ed. A., IV, 279, 749.

employed in the actual construction of vaults the Lombard builders endeavoured to construct the outer roof also either entirely without timber or with a minimum amount of it. From an early period vaults of small dimensions had been covered with tiles laid directly upon mortar placed over the extrados without the intervention of any wood. Such a construction possessed great advantages because a wooden roof was liable to rot, and it was exceedingly difficult to replace the timbers. An example of a vault thus constructed without timber may be found at S. Fedelino on the Lago di Mezzola, which dates from c. 1000. In the XII century the construction was applied even to vaults of large dimensions, as, for example, at S. Fedele of Como, the baptistery of Arsago, Cavagnolo, S. Simpliciano of Milan, S. Giacomo, S. Maria di Castello and the Annunziata of Corneto.[3] In buildings of large dimensions this construction of course resulted in placing a great additional weight upon the vaults. One reason for the instability of Lombard vaults was undoubtedly this habit of loading their extradoses.

At S. Savino of Piacenza a series of hollow cells, or of little barrel vaults, was erected on top of the vault to bring the roof to the desired slope. The roofing was laid directly upon this porous construction. Since lighter than a solid filling-in, the construction was undoubtedly a step in advance, and the fact that it was used is extremely significant for the history of Lombard architecture. This roof of S. Savino teaches us that the Lombard builders were mad on the subject of dispensing with wood, since in order to do so they erected a roof not only extremely costly and difficult to build, but one which added an immense weight to the already not over-secure vaults. The destruction of this roof in the recent restoration was an act of vandalism which can never be sufficiently regretted. It is probable that similar reconstructions executed at all periods have destroyed a great number of similar experiments in roofing. Only two others, so far as I know, have come down to us. At S. Panerazio of Corneto the wooden roof over the vaults is carried on walls rising above

[3] The construction is found even in France—for example, at Issoire (Choisy, *Histoire*, II, 149).

the transverse arches (Plate 79). In the cathedral of Piacenza the roof is supported on brick columns which rest on the extradoses of the vaults.

It is probable that the actual roofing in the great majority of cases was formed, not of tiles, but of lead. The leaden roof of S. Prospero of Reggio is mentioned in 1167. The Anonimo Ticinese tells us that there were leaden roofs at S. Pietro in Ciel d'Oro and other churches of Pavia. There was a leaden roof at S. Ambrogio of Milan. Such roofs must have added immensely to the dignity and beauty of the exterior. The great charm of the world-famous dome of St. Peter's in Rome lies perhaps primarily in its colour, which is so exquisite that it causes us to forget the defects in the architectural composition of the cupola. Now, this colour of the dome of St. Peter's results exclusively from the weathering of the lead with which it is covered. It is certain that all the more important churches of Lombardy in the XII century possessed roofs of similarly exquisite colour. It is difficult to conceive the loss that the buildings have sustained from an æsthetic point of view in that this beautiful lead has been stripped off and replaced by less costly materials.

Lead, however, is the heaviest of all materials, and applied even in thin sheets must have added grievously to the weight the already over-burdened vaults had to sustain. A study of Lombard roofs therefore confirms the inferences we have drawn from other sources. The Lombard builders strove primarily to reduce the amount of wood required in their construction, and in their preoccupation to compass this result they neglected to study the question of the equilibrium of their vaults. Not only did they fail to provide adequate abutments, but they recklessly over-charged the vaults with the entire weight of the roof, which might have been made to rest directly upon the outer walls.

CHAPTER XII. RIBBED HALF DOMES

A peculiar and unexpected development of the rib vault was the application of ribs to the half dome of the apse. Half domes seem always to have required a solid centering, whether constructed of rubble as at Loppia di Bellagio, or of cut stones as at Mignano. When ribs were applied to such a half dome it is probable that the vault could be constructed by means of a cerce, and that no solid centering would be necessary.

Half domes with ribs are extremely rare in Lombardy. The most important example is at S. Abondio of Como, an edifice which dates from c. 1095 (Plate 58, Fig. 4). There are here four ribs of rectangular profile, supported upon a system consisting of single shafts. It is probable that the apse of S. Eufemia on the Isola Comacina was similarly constructed, since the recent excavations have shown that there was a system in the apse. This indication is not necessarily conclusive, however, since the church of S. Teodoro at Pavia has similar shafts but no ribs in the half dome (Plate 180, Fig. 2), as has also S. Lorenzo of Panico. Before the reconstruction of the XIX century the apse at Casale had two ribs, if we may trust Osten's plan (Plate 45, Fig. 7). Finally, a ribbed half dome was constructed at Borgo S. Donnino in 1280 (Plate 30, Fig. 4).

In central Italy this Lombard construction was copied in S. Maria di Castello at Corneto. The existing half dome (Plate 77, Fig. 2), it is true, dates from 1207, but it doubtless replaces an earlier one erected in 1121, and also supplied with ribs. It is probable that there was a similar ribbed half dome at S. Pancrazio, although the interior of this apse has been completely baroccoized.

It is interesting to note these early examples in Italy of a construction that was subsequently to assume such importance

north of the Alps. In the Ile-de-France it hardly appears before the second quarter of the XII century (Plate 58, Fig. 3, shows the church of Bruyère-sur-Fère, a typical example of the ribbed half dome in the Soissonnais). Something similar is found in the dome of the church of Riez in French Savoy (Plate 58, Fig. 5), a monument the date of which I should not dare attempt to determine. This construction seems singularly like a foreshadowing of the Gothic dome, as we find it later developed, for example, in the baptistery of Parma.

CHAPTER XIII. ANNULAR VAULTS

Owing the fact that the ambulatory was never adopted by the Lombard builders, the question of annular vaults did not come to assume in northern Italy the importance it acquired in France. Nevertheless, annular aisles did occur in circular edifices and transept-ends, and these it was frequently necessary to vault. The Lombards brought to the study of the problem a surprising amount of ingenuity and resourcefulness.[1]

Probably the first solution—and also the simplest—which the Lombard builders adopted for the problem of how to vault an annular gallery, was the use of a plain barrel vault. This solution had already been found by the Romans, being employed, for example, in the well known baptistery of S. Costanza at Rome. The Lombard builders adopted it c. 990 in the crypt of the ambulatory of S. Stefano at Verona (Plate 222, Fig. 2). Twenty years later it was adopted in the baptistery of Vigolo Marchese.

Another solution of the problem was found in the IX century by the builders of Charlemagne's chapel at Aachen. Here the number of supports in the outer perimeter of the gallery had been doubled, so that there were alternately rectangular and triangular compartments. Thus were avoided the trapezoidal vaulting spaces which normally result and are so difficult to cover with groin vaults. The rectangular and triangular compartments were readily groin-vaulted. This system was adopted in its entirety in the Rotonda of Brescia (Plate 31, Fig. 6) and in the transepts at S. Fedele of Como (Plate 64, Fig. 2). It was modified in the ambulatory of S. Stefano of Verona, where the

[1] I have already analyzed the principles underlying the construction of annular vaults in the Appendix to my *The Construction of Lombard and Gothic Vaults*, and have studied in detail typical examples of annular vaulting in Lombardy. It will not be necessary to reiterate here what has there been said.

trapezoidal plan of the compartments is minimized by the wedge-shaped plan given to the transverse arches which become almost triangular barrel vaults (Plate 222, Fig. 1).

In the galleries of the transept-ends of S. Fedele of Como (Plate 64, Fig. 2), and of Almenno S. Bartolomeo (Plate 11, Fig. 2), the groin vaults, instead of being level, are inclined against the clearstory wall, thus buttressing the thrusts of the great vault. This disposition is undoubtedly derived from Aachen, where the barrel vaults of the gallery were similarly inclined. It may have been first introduced into Italy in monuments much anterior to the XII century, which have perished.

In certain instances the Lombard builders showed themselves able to meet and overcome the great difficulties of erecting groin vaults on a trapezoidal plan. One of the most interesting examples is at Almenno S. Bartolomeo (Plate 10, Fig. 7; Plate 11, Fig. 2, 3). Here the groins are broken and the capitals of the responds are placed at a lower level. It was only in the South, at Montefiascone (Plate 149; Plate 150) and Aversa (Plate 17, Fig. 1, 2), that diagonal ribs were introduced to simplify the construction of annular vaults.

CHAPTER XIV. SURVIVAL OF THE WOODEN ROOF

No little light is thrown upon the rib vault by a study of what seems least related to it, that is to say, the wooden-roofed basilica. At no period did the Lombard builders cease to erect churches without vaults.

We have already seen that until the year 1030, or thereabouts, this was the only type of basilica in use. In the early years of the XI century transverse arches had been erected to sustain the wooden roof, but the wooden roof persisted none the less.[1] Even in the years following 1040, when the rib vault had first been discovered, and the builders were especially engrossed in developing the possibilities of the new construction, wooden-roofed churches continued to be erected. These were almost without exception, however, built in mountainous regions where wood was abundant.[2] This fact supports the other evidence that the rib vault was introduced largely with the purpose of economizing wood. In regions where wood was plentiful the wooden-roofed basilica continued in use. It was only in the flat and treeless plain that the rib-vaulted construction was developed. In this connection it is interesting to note that in the school of Como the rib vault appears never to have been employed. Not a single example of its use in this mountainous region is extant.

[1] Examples of early wooden-roofed basilicas at S. Giorgio di Valpolicella—c. 730, c. 1000—(Plate 197), S. Salvatore of Brescia (Plate 33), S. Stefano of Verona—899—(Plate 223, Fig. 5), S. Vincenzo of Galliano—1007—(Plate 97), S. Giovanni of Vigolo Marchese (1008), Piobesi—c. 1020—(Plate 188, Fig. 3), S. Pietro of Acqui (c. 1015-1023), the cathedral of Acqui (1015-1067), S. Carpoforo of Como—c. 1028-1040—(Plate 60, Fig. 1, 2), Sezzè (1030), Casalino—c. 1040—(Plate 48, Fig. 5), Sommacampagna—c. 1040—(Plate 207, Fig. 3), etc.

[2] The only examples erected between 1040 and 1100 that I know are all situated in or near the mountains. These are at Piona (c. 1140), S. Pietro di Civate—c. 1140—(Plate 57, Fig. 3), Sasso—c. 1050—(Plate 205, Fig. 1), Cosio (1078), S. Benedetto di Lenno—1083—(Plate 102, Fig. 6), S. Abondio of Como—1095—(Plate 59, Fig. 1).

The explanation is, of course, that in the region of Como wood was abundant. It is amusing, however, that in a district which has been so widely hailed as the formative centre of the architectural art, not only of Lombardy, but of all Europe, the one construction which gave vitality and significance to the Lombard style, the one new principle which was destined to be the vital and central feature of later mediæval architecture, was never used. Como, instead of being the centre of Lombard progress, appears in this light to have been singularly reactionary.

In the XII century the builders, as we have seen, began to realize that their rib vaults were not the panacea that had been hoped. The discovery of the instability of the construction led them to turn from it to various other methods of roofing. Among different expedients they returned to the wooden roof. Even in the flat plain of Piemonte a wooden roof was erected at Casale as early as 1107. From that time forward the construction was frequently used in the plains as well as in the mountains. It became especially characteristic of the local schools of Monferrato and Verona.[3]

[3] Examples at Cemmo (c. 1110), S. Vittore of Arsago—1120—(Plate 15, Fig. 2), Pieve Trebbio—1108—(Plate 187, Fig. 3), S. Pietro di Legnano (1117), Castell'Arquato—1117-1122—(Plate 48, Fig. 2), Garbagnate Monastero (c. 1120), S. Giovanni in Fonte of Verona—1123—(Plate 218, Fig. 2), Fontanella al Monte—c. 1130—(Plate 92), Chiesa Rossa, Milan (1139), Panico (c. 1145), Cortazzone d'Asti—c. 1150—(Plate 82, Fig. 2), S. Giovanni in Valle, Verona—1164—(Plate 218, Fig. 4), Villanova—1167—(Plate 241, Fig. 4), S. Ruffillo di Bologna (1178), Brebbia (c. 1190), Gazzo Veronese (c. 1190), S. Lorenzo of Cremona (c. 1195).

CHAPTER XV. CIRCULAR EDIFICES OF THE XI AND XII CENTURIES

The preceding study of vaulting has made it evident that the chief interest of Lombard architecture of the XI and XII centuries—of what we might perhaps call the high Romanesque period—lies in the basilica and its roofing. None the less the circular type of edifice so important in preceding periods continued in use.

The circular church regained popularity through the Crusades. The capture of Jerusalem in the year 1099 led to the construction of numerous churches throughout Europe built in imitation of the circular edifices of the Holy Land. Such buildings were generally either chapels of the Knights Templar, like the well known circular building at Laon in France (Plate 204, Fig. 4), or they were churches built in imitation of the church of the Holy Sepulchre at Jerusalem. In Lombardy there are extant three buildings of the latter class. The church of S. Sepolcro of Pavia, now known as S. Lanfranco, was founded in 1090, but the existing edifice is not central but cruciform (Plate 168, Fig. 2). At S. Sepolcro of Milan it was impossible to erect a circular edifice, since the builders were obliged to utilize a comparatively new pre-existing basilica. They therefore contented themselves with rounding the transept-ends (Plate 133, Fig. 3). At S. Sepolcro of Bologna, however, we have a perfectly developed circular church (Plate 24, Fig. 6).

Numerous churches of circular form were erected in Lombardy in the XII century. Of these one of the most important is the Duomo Vecchio of Brescia, erected c. 1105 (Plate 31, Fig. 7, 8). S. Lorenzo of Mantova (Plate 112, Fig. 2), built some ten years later, is of very similar type, except that a gallery is introduced. There is a gallery also at Almenno

S. Bartolomeo, which was erected c. 1140 (Plate 11, Fig. 1, 2). The church of S. Maria del Solario of Brescia (Plate 32, Fig. 2, 3) is centralized, but the plan is rectangular.

Centralized buildings were also commonly erected to serve as mortuary chapels in the cemeteries of monasteries. In the XI and XII centuries it is probable that no monastic establishment of any considerable size and importance was without such a cemetery chapel. At S. Pietro di Civate the chapel of S. Benedetto, which undoubtedly served for such a purpose, is still extant in excellent preservation (Plate 56, Fig. 4). It dates from c. 1045. Notable ruins of the similar chapel belonging to the monastery of Piona, and built about the same time, still survive. The cemetery chapel of Sagra S. Michele, erected c. 1100, still stands in ruins (Plate 196, Fig. 3). It is evident that the plan consisted of a central area surrounded by niches alternately semicircular and rectangular. Of the cemetery chapel of the Chiesa d'Aurona at Milan, which was built in 1099, nothing has come down to us.

While centralized edifices were thus used for churches or mortuary chapels, the type was employed principally for baptisteries. Numerous examples dating from the XI and XII centuries are extant. The plans show considerable variation, but it is difficult to trace any consistent growth or development. The baptistery of S. Ponzo Canavese, erected c. 1005, has an octangular central area, surrounded by niches alternately rectangular and semicircular (Plate 203, Fig. 4). That of Vigolo Marchese, erected about five years later, is circular internally and externally, but there are internal niches rectangular or semicircular (Plate 240, Fig. 3). The baptistery of Galliano, built c. 1015, has a gallery, and a more complex plan, the dispositions of which will be clear from the illustration (Plate 95). The baptistery of Biella, erected c. 1040, is in its main features not dissimilar (Plate 24, Fig. 2). At Curreggio (c. 1055) the central area is octagonal, but there are four niches in the ground story, as at Biella (Plate 87, Fig. 1). At S. Paolo of Castel Seprio (c. 1070) and in the baptistery of Lenno—c. 1085—(Plate 102, Fig. 2), the builders returned to the simple polygonal

edifice with one apse, such as had been erected nearly two centuries previously at Agliate (Plate 6).

The remains of the baptistery which have recently come to light to the south of the choir of Castell'Arquato (1117-1122) give reason to suppose that there was here a building of similar type. Certainly there was one apse. At Agrate-Conturbia, however, there is a return to the octangular plan, with four niches (Plate 10, Fig. 3). The baptistery of Baveno, built c. 1135, has a plan very similar to that of the mortuary chapel at Sagra S. Michele. The exterior square is brought to the form of an octagon by means of semicircular niches placed in the angles. Between these niches are rectangular niches. S. Pietro of Asti, erected c. 1160, on the other hand, returns to the simple circular type of Vigolo Marchese (Plate 16, Fig. 4). The baptistery of Cremona (1167) is octagonal, has blind arches in the ground floor, passages in the thickness of the wall above and no clearstory (Plate 83, Fig. 6). In the earlier baptistery of Arsago (Plate 15, Fig. 5) there is a similar type of edifice, but with a clearstory.

Baptisteries were not always circular. S. Maria del Tiglio at Gravedona is rectangular in plan, with apses and galleries (Plate 100, Fig. 1, 3). At S. Giovanni in Fonte of Verona (1123) we have a baptistery in the form of a miniature basilica (Plate 218, Fig. 2). The baptistery of S. Giovanni at Varese (1187) is rectangular (Plate 214, Fig. 1).

Book III. The XII Century

CHAPTER I. LANFRANCO OF MODENA

One of the leading characteristics of Italy in all ages, and above all in mediæval times, is lack of unity. Even within the same province there were many independent states, frequently hostile to each other, and differing by well defined national characteristics as well as by political affiliations. The city state of the Middle Ages has left its stamp on the people of Italy to this day. Differences of dialect and differences of character are still reflected in that *spirito di campanilismo* which so persistently survives despite repeated efforts to stamp it out.

The Lombard dialects may be grouped together as Lombard, and distinguished from, let us say, the Tuscan, but within the Lombard group itself great variations will be found to exist. The speech at Milan is notably different from that at Pavia or Como. As with present-day dialects, so was it with styles of architecture in the Romanesque period. The general manner of building in northern Italy was totally distinct from that of Tuscany. Nevertheless, within Lombardy itself there were as many sub-schools as there were towns and districts. Each city, each region, had its own local style.

To illustrate how great might be the difference in these local sub-schools, let us compare the organic, rib-vaulted Romanesque church of S. Ambrogio of Milan (Plate 116; Plate 117, Fig. 2, 4, 5, 6; Plate 118, Fig. 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7; Plate 119, Fig. 1, 2, 3, 4; Plate 120, Fig. 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7), with the simple basilica of S. Abondio at Como (Plate 58, Fig. 2; Plate 59, Fig. 1); these two edifices, so absolutely divergent in character, are contemporary and erected in cities only some forty kilometres distant. It would be possible to show similar contrasts between

contemporary buildings of numerous other cities of Lombardy. A volume might easily be written tabulating the characteristics of the different Lombard sub-schools, but I shall not insult the intelligence of the reader by insisting at greater length upon so obvious a matter.

In certain schools, however, peculiar constructions of such importance were developed that it will be well to speak of them in some detail. The school of the Monferrato was the gayest and the most ornate of all the Lombard manners with the possible exception of the school of Verona which it unexpectedly resembles. Delighting in polychromatic masonry and exuberant decoration, it generally eschewed vaults and clung to the wooden roof. It showed conservatism also in rejecting the classic type of decoration originated at Modena, and clung to the decorative forms of the XI century long after they had been abandoned elsewhere.[1] The school of Monferrato, as was natural in view of its geographical location, was first to welcome the foreign influences imported from Provence and later from northern France.[2]

The school of Parma acquired especial importance at the very end of the XII century. At this epoch it was characterized by its archaistic tendencies, witnessed by the wooden-roofed naves, the quatrefoiled piers, the systems consisting of a shaft engaged on a pilaster strip, the blind arches and the arched corbel-tables grouped two and two. The groin vaults are frequently so highly domed in a longitudinal sense that they resemble barrel vaults. The capitals are often of grotesque or string type. Edifices of this character exist at Vicofertile—c. 1200—(Plate 240, Fig. 1, 2), S. Andrea of Parma (1216), S. Croce of Parma (1222), Collecchio, Gaione and elsewhere.

The school of Pavia differs from that of Milan chiefly in the peculiar type of façade developed. The Lombard builders

[1] As, for example, at Cavagnolo—1140—(Plate 51, Fig. 4).

[2] Examples of the style of Monferrato may be found at Portocomaro—c. 1120—(Plate 189, Fig. 3), Montechiaro d'Asti—c. 1140—(Plate 148, Fig. 3), S. Vittore of Montemagno—c. 1145—(Plate 152, Fig. 6, 7), Cortazzone d'Asti—c. 1150—(Plate 82, Fig. 2, 4), Montefia—c. 1150—(Plate 147, Fig. 3), S. Lorenzo of Montiglio—c. 1150—(Plate 153, Fig. 1), Castell'Alfero (c. 1155), Casorso (c. 1180).

of all regions were none too honest in their treatment of the façade which they loved to raise high above the roof in flagrant violation of the Lamp of Truth. At Pavia these false façades were in addition given a single gable, which absolutely belies the section of the three-aisled basilica to which they are prefixed. The Pavese façade is further characterized by certain peculiar decorative elements, such as galleries, inlaid plaques and double arched corbel-tables. It will not be necessary here to analyze in detail the different façades of Pavia, since the illustrations speak for themselves. In the list of monuments it will be shown that the development of the design furnishes an accurate means of determining the date of the edifice. The façades in the order of their age are: S. Michele—c. 1100—(Plate 174, Fig. 3), S. Giovanni in Borgo—c. 1120—(Plate 167, Fig. 4), S. Maria in Betlem—c. 1129—(Plate 170, Fig. 4), SS. Primo e Feliciano—c. 1130—(Plate 179, Fig. 6), S. Pietro in Ciel d'Oro—1132—(Plate 177, Fig. 3), S. Lanfranco—c. 1136—(Plate 168, Fig. 3), S. Lazaro—1157—(Plate 170, Fig. 1).

Among all the local schools none was so important in the XII century as that of Modena. It owes its origin to the genius of one man, who must be considered as ranking among the foremost architects of all time. Lanfranco was called to construct the cathedral of Modena in the year 1099. At that time it had become evident that the rib vaults built during the last half of the XI century throughout Lombardy were insecure. Indeed it is probable that some peculiarly unpleasant experience with the vaults necessitated the reconstruction of the cathedral of Modena, built only seventy years before. In designing the new cathedral Lanfranco therefore determined to lay aside the rib vault which was the dominant motive in the architecture of his time, and with it all those features which had been developed as necessary consequences of the vaulting. In their place he created a new style with different ideals, æsthetic and constructive.

Since the new style created in the cathedral of Modena was destined to dominate the XII century architecture of Lombardy, it will be well to analyze the innovations introduced by Lanfranco. Instead of the rib vault, he returned to the constructive

system we have already seen tried at Lomello three quarters of a century earlier (Plate 106; Plate 108), and covered his nave with timber supported on transverse arches (Plate 138). Even the side aisles were similarly roofed. Since there were no longer vaults with thrusts to be neutralized, buttresses were omitted and replaced by slender shafts (Plate 140, Fig. 3). Thus was established the type of cathedral church destined to prevail during the XII century.

Another innovation tried by Lanfranco was the construction of the side aisles in two stories. A first glance at the nave of the cathedral of Modena (Plate 140, Fig. 2) would lead us to suppose that there was a gallery. On discovering that the vaults of the side aisles are placed above the level of the triforium, it would be natural to believe that such a gallery once existed but has been removed. The truth, however, seems to be that the present arrangement has always existed. Lanfranco was a passionate classicist. He abandoned the extravagant and splendidly barbaric ornament of the XII century in favour of a more subdued style of decoration in which the influence of classic models is clearly evident. So great is the delicacy of technique in the carvings executed under his direction that many of them might be mistaken for Roman work. As conducive to greater repose in the design and a more classic feeling for the distribution of space, he seems to have wished to retain a tripartite division for the nave of Modena. The lower proportions, and the greater emphasis of the horizontal line attained by the introduction of a gallery were achieved without the extra vaulting which would be necessary were such a feature actually introduced. The triforium, moreover, served conveniently to mask the slope of the timber roof with which the side aisles were covered.

Among the destroyed Roman ruins upon which the city of Modena was built there must have been numerous fragments of sculpture and marble blocks finely squared for use in monumental buildings. Many such blocks are used in the cathedral of Modena, and the documentary sources refer explicitly to the excavations opened to acquire them. From this Roman material Lanfranco evidently learned many lessons. He formed an ideal

of ashlar masonry very different from any constructed by his predecessors, an ashlar masonry which, in the fineness of its joints, the horizontality of its coursing and the smoothness of its finish, should rival the work of the ancient Romans. He formed the idea of a new decoration more severe and restrained in type, in which dignity and delicacy should replace the exuberant imagination of XI century carving. It may also be that from the Roman ruins he derived the fecund idea of employing sculpture as an architectural accessory. Certain it is that Modena is the earliest of extant Lombard, if not of extant mediæval, buildings in which this important motive appears. It is similarly probable that from the Roman ruins he derived the idea of twisted and spiral-fluted columns and of fine mouldings, all of which appear for the first time in the cathedral of Modena.

In the excavations conducted among the ruins of ancient Modena to recover materials for the new cathedral were discovered two ancient lions in a seated posture. Lanfranco appears to have determined to use these antique sculptures as caryatids to support the columns of what we know as a Lombard porch (Plate 140, Fig. 1), that is to say, a canopy built out in front of the principal portal.[3] The idea of employing the lions in this original manner may possibly have been suggested by caryatids which Lanfranco saw among the Roman fragments. Certain it is that these caryatids vividly impressed themselves upon his imagination, and that he caused the feature to be introduced into the cathedral of Modena. Taken up by Guglielmo, the sculptor who worked at Modena with Lanfranco, the caryatids subsequently became a characteristic motive of XII century decoration in Lombardy.

Few architectural motives ever invented have so profoundly influenced later art as did Lanfranco's Lombard porch carried on the backs of lions. From this time onward the Lombard porch became a characteristic feature of the north Italian style. At Cemmo (Plate 51, Fig. 2), S. Margherita of Como, and at Casale we see how quickly Lanfranco's invention impressed

[3] The original lions have been replaced by modern copies, and transferred to the museum of the cathedral.

itself upon the minds of his contemporaries. In these cases, it is true, there is no real Lombard porch, but reliefs of lions are introduced under the engaged columns flanking the doorway. The Modenese porch in its entirety was reproduced in the cathedral of Cremona between 1107 and 1117, and at Nonantola in 1121 (Plate 155, Fig. 5). Here the lions are lying instead of sitting. It would be merely tedious to enumerate the multitudinous examples of the repetition of the motive in one form and another during succeeding ages. Suffice it to recall that the hanging porches of Verona, such as that of S. Trinità (Plate 223, Fig. 4), and the lions of the world-famous pulpits of Nicolò and Giovanni Pisano are only echoes of the motive introduced by Lanfranco.

The transverse arches of Modena form the basis upon which were designed the cathedrals and the great churches of the XII century in northern Italy. At times the influence radiating from Modena was combined with forms derived from the school of the XI century, and the manner of Lanfranco was disguised by the addition of elements more or less in opposition to his style. Thus, vaults were frequently introduced into edifices which in other particulars show close imitation of the cathedral of Modena, as in the cathedrals of Parma, Piacenza and Cremona. At other times something of the old exuberant decoration lives on, though combined with other features essentially Modenese, as in the cathedral of Parma. All told, however, the dominating influence in the architectural development of Lombardy in the XII century emanates from Modena. Features derived from the style of the XI century become increasingly rare. The style becomes more restrained, more classic. The transverse arch replaces the rib vault. The horizontal line and love of repose triumph over the energetic movement of the XI century. Architecture becomes more restrained, less imaginative.

Thus almost all the important buildings of the XII century were built more or less in imitation of Lanfranco's construction of Modena. S. Fedele of Como (Plate 61; Plate 62; Plate 63; Plate 64, Fig. 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7), S. Maria Maggiore of Bergamo (Plate 22, Fig. 5, 6, 7; Plate 23, Fig. 1, 2, 4), the cathedrals

of Novara (Plate 156, Fig. 2; Plate 157; Plate 158), Piacenza (Plate 181, Fig. 1, 2, 5), Parma (Plate 165, Fig. 1; Plate 166, Fig. 1, 2, 3, 4), Cremona (Plate 84, Fig. 1, 3), Ferrara (Plate 88, Fig. 3; Plate 89, Fig. 3), and Verona (Plate 216, Fig. 4; Plate 217, Fig. 5), and S. Zeno of Verona (Plate 224, Fig. 1; Plate 225, Fig. 1, 2, 3; Plate 226, Fig. 1, 2, 3; Plate 227, Fig. 2, 3, 4; Plate 228, Fig. 2, 4), all bear witness to the extent and power of this influence.

In these great churches Lombardy undoubtedly possessed a series of monuments which, in actual architectural attainment, equalled any contemporary edifices of Europe. It is singular and unfortunate that they are so little known. S. Zeno of Verona, it is true, seldom fails to catch the eye of tourists at Verona, and S. Fedele of Como, by some caprice of fortune difficult to understand, has received some attention from archæologists. The other great monuments hardly enjoy more than a local reputation, although they should undoubtedly be ranked among the grandest achievements of Romanesque art. That they are not better known is undoubtedly due to the fact that time has dealt with them in a peculiarly unkindly fashion. The cathedral of Novara has been destroyed. S. Maria Maggiore of Bergamo and the cathedral of Ferrara have largely disappeared in barocco reconstructions. Piacenza has had to endure the even worse fate of a modern restoration. The original architecture at Cremona and Parma is hidden by gorgeous frescos of the high Renaissance. Thus the true beauty and dignity of these great Lombard churches of the XII century easily escape notice. Moreover, the fact that they were eminent if not pre-eminent in their century has not been recognized, because the unsolved problems of archæology, which up to the present they have presented, have made it impossible to determine the date at which they were erected.

While the cathedral of Modena was thus influencing the subsequent architecture of all Lombardy—indeed, it may be said of all Italy—it also was the formative influence in the creation of a local school in the province of Modena. This school imitated with slavish exactitude, not so much the broad structural

characteristics as the detail of the ornament of the cathedral. As early as c. 1110 the influence of the cathedral is clearly traceable at S. Vitale delle Carpinete. At Rubbiano, Rocca S. Maria and Frassinoro the Modenese school reaches, perhaps, its culmination. These edifices are all characterized by the superb technique of the masonry and of the carving and by the restrained and classical feeling in the design, and contrast strongly with earlier edifices in the same region, like Renno (Plate 191, Fig. 4) or Pieve Trebbio (Plate 187, Fig. 3, 4, 5). The classical feeling in such a design as that of the façade of S. Michele di Castelvetro—c. 1150—(Plate 199, Fig. 2) is striking.[4] At Monteobizo and Denzano are apses with arched corbel-tables closely resembling those of the cathedral of Modena (Plate 140, Fig. 3). Similar arched corbel-tables reappear in 1184 at the Sagra of Carpi (Plate 42, Fig. 5, 6), an edifice which shows imitation of Modena in other features as well, *i.e.*, the alternate system, transverse arches, columns, wooden roof and sculptures.

It is a curious fact that Romanesque architecture lived on in the mountains of the Modenese perhaps later than anywhere else in Europe. The chapel of S. Michele at S. Michele di Pievepelago is authentically dated 1353 by an extant inscription. The apse is quite Romanesque in style, and adorned with flat corbel-tables often ornamented with grotesques. The church of S. Bartolomeo at Fiumalbo offers another similar example of Romanesque forms surviving at an extraordinarily late date.

Milan appears to have been the centre which offered the most determined resistance to the introduction of the new classic type of design developed at Modena. At Milan the rib vault had been acclimatized and adopted as the central feature of the style of the XI century as nowhere else. Local conditions—the abundance of brick and the scarcity of timber—made the new construction peculiarly popular in this region. Together with the school of Pavia, therefore, the school of Milan continued throughout the first thirty years of the XII century to cling

[4] This façade is singularly analogous with that of the church at Drevant (Cher), Plate 199, Fig. 3.

tenaciously to the rib vault and the decorative forms evolved in the XI century.

Some of the most widely known of Lombard edifices date from this period. The great basilica of S. Michele at Pavia which, with S. Ambrogio of Milan, is generally cited as at once the most typical and the most striking extant example of the Lombard style, belongs to the borderland between the XI and XII centuries (Plate 172; Plate 173, Fig. 1, 5; Plate 174, Fig. 1, 2, 3; Plate 175, Fig. 1, 2, 3, 4; Plate 176, Fig. 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6). The almost equally important church of S. Savino at Piacenza, which enjoys the advantage of being authentically dated 1107, is of the old rib-vaulted type, but traces of the new way of looking at things are visible in the groin vault of the western bay and in the less extravagant decoration (Plate 183; Plate 184; Plate 185; Plate 186). In the well known basilica of S. Pietro in Ciel d'Oro at Pavia, authentically dated 1132 (Plate 177, Fig. 1, 3, 4; Plate 178, Fig. 1, 2, 3, 4), we find a building in which the XI century manner is essentially preserved, but modified still further by the return to the uniform system, and by much greater restraint in the character of the ornament.

It is evident that the instability of the rib vault eventually obliged the Milanesi and Pavesi builders to renounce the manner of the XI century, and even against their will to accept something of the new Modenese style. First the alternate system was abandoned, then the rib vault altogether. The Chiesa Rossa, built at Milan in 1139, exhibits few characteristics of the local manner. The eastern bay is groin-vaulted, the nave covered with a wooden roof. The prestige of Milan in the field of architecture was also undoubtedly shaken by the long series of wars waged during the XII century and culminating in the destruction of the city by Barbarossa in 1162. Indeed, after 1130, but little building seems to have been done—at least to judge from the monuments that have come down to us. At Pavia and in the outlying districts the old XI century type of ornament continued to survive, but always more and more transformed by the growing Modenese influence. As late as 1190 something of the old Milanese manner still lived on in the cathedral of Lodi.

CHAPTER II. CLUNIAC ARCHITECTURE

Upon the roots of XI century tradition the influence of Lanfranco of Modena was firmly grafted, as we have seen in the preceding chapter. This, however, was not the only stock which radically altered the nature of Lombard art, and determined the direction in which it was destined to develop. As the XII century advances it becomes evident that the current of influence which in earlier times had emanated from Lombardy into northern Europe and especially France, was reversed, and commenced to flow in the opposite direction from France into Lombardy.

In recent years determined efforts have been made to lay all these currents of architectural influence at the door of the various monastic orders. It is incontestable that certain religious orders possessed a characteristic type of church-building, and it has been believed that such monastic types constituted a sort of international clearing-house by means of which artistic ideas travelled rapidly from one end of Europe to the other.

The earliest of the reformed orders is that of Cluny. Since it has been suspected of having played a prominent part, first in carrying from Italy to northern Europe, and secondly from northern Europe into Italy, architectural features of importance, it will be well to examine in some detail on precisely what evidence these theories are based.

The first boasts of much more orthodox sponsors than the second. Founded on a text of Raoul Glaber, and embraced by archæologists of such reputation as Enlart[1] and Rivoira,[2] it has won wide acceptance.

The life of S. Guglielmo, written by Raoul Glaber, informs us that the saint was born in Lombardy, but left his monastery in the diocese of Novara to go to Cluny, whither he accompanied

[1] 214. [2] 317 f.

the abbot S. Maiolo, when the latter was returning from Rome. S. Guglielmo became successively abbot of St.-Saurin and St.-Bénigne at Dijon. He was sent to the latter monastery for the express purpose *ad redintegrandum divini cultus ordinem qui in eodem loco omnino defecerat.* He became connected also with other French monasteries, especially Fécamp—in fact, he was abbot of no less than forty abbeys. He is believed to have restored the buildings of many of these. It is certain that he rebuilt the ruined church of St.-Bénigne at Dijon. In addition to his other activities he reformed the monastery of St.-Arnulph at Metz. He then set out for Rome on a pilgrimage, but fell sick at Vercelli. On this occasion he founded the monastery of Fruttuaria. After having consecrated the church, he left Italy and returned to France.[3]

The church of St.-Bénigne at Dijon, which S. Guglielmo reconstructed, has perished. From drawings republished by Rivoira[4] and from the ancient crypt, which is still extant, it is possible to form some idea of the style of the XI century edifice. The only features in it which betray Lombard influence are the arched corbel-tables grouped three and three on one of the towers, certainly dating from long after the time of S. Guglielmo, and one capital in the crypt,[5] which shows some influence of the style of ornament current in Lombardy about the middle of the X century, but nevertheless differs by certain essential characteristics from Lombard work. It would seem to be an imitation of Lombard models executed by local workmen. As for the cubic capitals upon which so much emphasis has been laid by Enlart, they are utterly unlike anything to be found in Lombardy at this or at later epochs, and are clearly of purely local origin.[6]

The work of S. Guglielmo in carrying Lombard forms into Burgundy therefore reduces itself to very small dimensions. One capital executed at Dijon shows Lombard influence, but

[3] Rodulfi Glabri, *De Vita S. Guillelmi Divionensis,* ed. Migne, *Pat. Lat.,* CXLII, 609 f.

[4] 319, 320, 325. [5] Reproduced by Rivoira, 324.

[6] The statement of Enlart, speaking of these capitals: "la coupure de leurs angles inférieurs . . . est droite et étroite comme dans les monuments lombards" is contrary to fact, since capitals of this type are not found in Lombardy.

is of a type which seems to have had no further influence in the North. The great emphasis which has been laid upon S. Guglielmo as a transmitter of artistic ideas, therefore, seems to be entirely misplaced. The famous passage of Raoul Glaber merely proves what we know from many other sources, that the monks of Cluny were constantly passing from one part of Europe to another, and that the monastery drew many of its most brilliant followers from Lombardy. Indeed, it is well known that during the XI century northern Italy continued to supply France and Germany with scholars.[7] The gradual infiltration of Lombard elements into northern Europe probably took place through the continued and repeated influence of such emigrants from Lombardy or of pilgrims who passed through northern Italy on their way to and from Rome, and brought home with them distinct impressions of the new architecture they had seen. There is reason to think that the order of Cluny may have taken a prominent, though by no means exclusive, part in the propaganda of these new architectural ideas. They seem to have been introduced, however, not so much in the abbey of Cluny itself, to judge from the drawings and fragments that have come down to us, as in the Cluniac monasteries of Normandy.

It is fortunately possible to arrive at a more definite conclusion in regard to the converse theory championed principally by Sant'Ambrogio, which sees in the Cluniac order an agency for transmitting the architectural forms of the North to Italy. An examination of the extant Cluniac churches in Lombardy will, I think, soon convince us that this thesis is entirely untenable.

The earliest Cluniac establishment in northern Italy of which I have knowledge is the abbey of Fruttuaria, founded, as we have seen, by S. Guglielmo c. 1019. Of the ancient buildings there is extant only the campanile. This is typically Lombard in style, and precisely similar in all essential characteristics to numerous other campanili of the same time and region. It moreover is utterly different from any towers ever erected in France, since it stood free from the church and was not attached to it, as was invariably the case north of the Alps. Of the Cluniac

[7] Giulini, II, 300; Maladra e Ranieri, 174; Romussi, 383.

priory of S. Maiolo in Pavia, no drawings or remains are extant, so that it is impossible to form an idea of the architectural forms. A priory was established at Cazzago in 1049, and another one at S. Marco of Lodi in 1068. S. Gabriele at Cremona was founded in 1076.[8] Nothing is known of the architectural forms of any of these churches. In 1099 the priory of Calvenzano was established in a pre-existing chapel (Plate 38; Plate 39; Plate 40; Plate 41; Plate 42, Fig. 1, 2, 3, 4). The church was enlarged, but in the additions and embellishments we search in vain for any trace of distinctively northern or Cluniac features. The admirable sculptures of the west portal (Plate 42, Fig. 7) are executed by the same hand as the fragments of the tomb of S. Alberto, in the Cluniac establishment of Pontida (Plate 189, Fig. 1, 2). Details of iconography give these works an intellectual stamp in which may be traced the influence of the learning of the order. The style of the sculpture, moreover, is not precisely like anything else extant in Lombardy. It may possibly be, therefore, that we have here foreign influence. The matter nevertheless is far from clear, for we search the North as well as Italy quite in vain to find prototypes for these interesting works of art.

The church of Cosio, founded in 1078, still stands in ruins. The monument is singularly without distinction. The low and broad proportions of the campanile, which rises to the north-west of the choir, may perhaps indicate northern influence, but in the main the monument is a typical construction of the region in which it is placed. Similarly the choir and apses of Fontanella, built between 1080 and 1090, are thoroughly Lombard (Plate 90; Plate 91; Plate 92; Plate 93, Fig. 1). The three apses, the wooden-roofed nave, the ornament consisting of shafts, zigzags and arched corbel-tables, are all distinctively Italian. Only the combination of transepts and three apses with a single-aisled nave and the diapering in inverted letters seem exotic; but it is difficult to suggest whence these motives may have been derived. Not until c. 1130 was the central tower (Plate 93, Fig. 3), the most distinctively Cluniac feature of the church,

[8] Monneret de Villard, 49-50.

erected. The nave added at this time is entirely Bergamasque, with no suggestion of foreign influence.

Of the priory of Cantù founded in 1086[9] nothing has come down to us. The style may, however, be safely inferred from that of the neighbouring Cluniac Badia di Vertemate (1083-1095). This is still well preserved, and a typical building in the local style of the district of Como (Plate 18, Fig. 1), offering many close analogies with the contemporary S. Abondio of Como (Plate 58, Fig. 2; Plate 59, Fig. 1), but containing not a single feature of foreign derivation nor peculiar to Cluniac churches. At Monastero di Capo di Ponte (c. 1090) we find, however, several distinctively French features, such as flat corbel-tables and broad-leaved capitals (Plate 146, Fig. 1, 2). Whether these foreign features are due to the influence of the monks of Cluny or to the geographical position of the church on an Alpine pass may well be doubted. The central tower and western narthex seem Cluniac. The eavea corniee, although repeated at Monastero di Capo di Ponte, does not seem distinctively either French or Cluniac, since it is found in numerous purely Lombard buildings. With the exeeption of these minor features, the design of Monastero di Capo di Ponte remains essentially Lombard—witness the three apses with shafts and arched corbel-tables, the cubic capitals, the sirens, eagles and two animals with a single head carved upon the capitals.

At S. Benedetto di Portesana, which dates from 1099, we find nothing distinctively Cluniac. The church of Castelletto Monastero (c. 1110) had a western narthex in two stories, a feature which we may grant to be Cluniac and northern. Otherwise, however, the design seems to have been Lombard—at least as far as it is possible to tell in the present condition of the edifice. The campanile rises to the south of the crossing. There is nothing distinctively Cluniac or northern at Monastero di Provaglio (Plate 147, Fig. 1). There are extant no remains of S. Pietro of Besate, near Abbiate Grasso, which appears to have been built about 1170.[10] The churches of Piona and Voltorre are

[9] Bernard, IV, 773.

[10] Bonomi, Brera MS., AE, XV, 36 f., 476, 468.

in no way distinctively Cluniac, but both possibly antedate the foundation of the priories.

Summarizing the results of our examination of the extant remains of Cluniac architecture in northern Italy we are forced to conclude that it was of very minor importance.[11] Most of the churches are exceedingly small in size. Such chapels could hardly have impressed builders who were accustomed to erect edifices from every point of view more imposing. It is true that many Cluniac churches have undoubtedly perished, for we know that in 1095 Urban II confirmed to the abbey of Cluny no less than sixty-three priories and churches in northern Italy. The extant remains, however, amply prove that in Italy there was no distinctively Cluniac style, and the modest chapels of the order were obviously built by local workmen and in a purely local manner. If foreign features were occasionally introduced—a matter which is exceedingly doubtful—they were never copied from the Cluniac churches by the Lombard builders. Two features only suggest the possibility that this Cluniac architecture may to some slight degree have contributed to the formation of the Lombard style. One is the central tower and the other the western narthex. Both, however, had been naturalized in the local architecture long before the coming of the Cluniac monks, and therefore can not be considered to have been introduced by them. Only the tower of the church of S. Fermo di Sopra, by its low, broad proportions, suggests that it may have been copied from some of the neighbouring Cluniac priories. This is the sole instance that I know of a Cluniac feature adopted in a non-Cluniac church in northern Italy. All told, the evidence proves that the Cluniac monks in Italy adopted essentially unaltered the local style, that they had no distinctive architecture of their own, and that they were not the medium of transmitting into Italy the artistic ideas of the North.

[11] Nota etiam, quod ordo sancti Benedicti, quantum ad monachos nigros, longe melius servatur in partibus ultramontanis, quam in partibus italicis (Salimbene, ad ann. 1247, ed. Parma, 1857, 89).

CHAPTER III. CLOISTERS

The growing importance of monasticism in the XII century finds its reflection in architecture in the development of the cloister. There are extant in northern Italy no cloisters of the XI century, although without doubt important monasteries had possessed such a feature. Those of S. Salutore at Turin, ascribed to c. 1050 by Toesca, have unfortunately been buried. The earliest visible example in Lombardy is at S. Alberto di Pizzo Como, where one gallery of c. 1100 still stands. Some fragments are also extant of the cloister of Ivrea (Plate 101, Fig. 4), dating from c. 1105. The now destroyed cloister of S. Trinità at Verona was earlier than 1137. It had central doorways, single colonnettes, and archivolts of a single unmoulded order, supported by simple splayed or cubic capitals.

This native type of Lombard cloister was subsequently modified by influence from Provence. As early as 1100 cloisters with coupled colonnettes had been built at Moissac, and are characteristic of the XII century schools of Provence, Languedoc and Spain. In 1117 coupled colonnettes are found in the narthex of S. Trinità of Verona (Plate 223, Fig. 4). In 1133 they appear in the cloister of S. Orso of Aosta (Plate 12, Fig. 6). The motive is repeated at S. Zeno of Verona—c. 1175-1200—(Plate 225, Fig. 1; Plate 234, Fig. 2, 4), a monument in which the Lombard cloister reaches perhaps its most perfect development. Other fine Veronese cloisters are those of S. Giovanni in Valle (Plate 218, Fig. 5), and S. Giorgio di Valpolicella (Plate 197; Plate 198, Fig. 3). The cloisters of the cathedral of Verona (c. 1185-1193) are in two stories (Plate 216, Fig. 3). The type of cloister developed at Verona was subsequently copied at Bologna, where we have admirable examples erected c. 1180 at S. Stefano of Bologna (Plate 25, Fig. 2) and at S. Ruffillo di Bologna (Plate 203, Fig. 3; Plate 204, Fig. 1, 3). Veronese

marble was used in both of these constructions. The contemporary cloisters of Frassinoro, in the Modenese, were of the same type.

At Voltorre (c. 1180-c. 1195) there is a new and entirely different type of cloister (Plate 243, Fig. 1, 2; Plate 244, Fig. 1, 4). In three of the four galleries flat lintels are substituted for arcades. Similar cloisters were erected in the XIII century at Piona. The cloisters of Montechiarugolo, built c. 1200, seem to fall half-way between the Veronese type and the arcaded gallery at Voltorre (Plate 148, Fig. 1). At Vezzolano are cloisters dating from c. 1180-1189 (Plate 236, Fig. 1, 2, 4; Plate 237, Fig. 2). These are the earliest vaulted cloisters in Lombardy. French influence is shown in this fact as well as in the pointed arches and the ornament. The distinctive feature of this design, however,—the grouping of the arcade arches two by two under enclosing arches—appears to be original. It was reproduced in the XIII century Gothic cloisters of Chiaravalle (Plate 54, Fig. 4).

CHAPTER IV. THE TRANSITION TO GOTHIC

During the Middle Ages the master-builders themselves appear to have been more powerful agents than the monks or other orders of clergy in the transmission of artistic ideas. Since the actual work of construction was, as we have seen, performed principally, if not exclusively, by the lay builders, it was only natural that artistic conceptions should be due to the same source. A study of the monuments makes it evident that this was, in fact, the case.

Master-builders were frequently summoned from a considerable distance. Nicolò, for example, worked at Sagra S. Michele, Piacenza, Ferrara and Verona. William of Sens was called to England to construct the cathedral of Canterbury. It was therefore natural that architectural motives discovered in one province should filter into the style of contiguous provinces, and even that they should travel considerable distances in one leap, as it were.

Provence is separated from Piemonte only by a range of mountains. This natural barrier undoubtedly served to create a sharper distinction between the styles of Provence and Piemonte, than existed, for example, between those of Piemonte and Lombardy; but nevertheless there was constant interchange of artistic ideas between the two. We have already seen that at an early epoch the Lombard rib vault found its way to Fréjus (Plate 70, Fig. 4), Moissac and Marseilles. In a succeeding chapter we shall see that there is evident relationship between the sculptures of the cloister at Moissac (Plate 142, Fig. 1) and those of Guglielmo at Modena (Plate 143, Fig. 1). It has already been observed that the coupled columns of Provençal cloisters found their way to Aosta in 1133. The apse of St.-Guilhem-le-Désert (Plate 117, Fig. 1) was undoubtedly

inspired by some Lombard or Piemontese edifice, as a comparison with the apse of S. Ambrogio at Milan (Plate 117, Fig. 5) will convince the reader.

It therefore seems evident that at least as early as the beginning of the XII century there was a close relationship between the architecture of Provence and that of northern Italy. At first the current seems to have drifted—at least in the main—from Lombardy outwards, but it soon turned and flowed in the opposite direction. At times this influence leaped from Languedoc to the Veneto. The crossed legs of Nicolò's sculptures at Verona, executed in the year 1139 (Plate 217, Fig. 3) unquestionably show the influence of Languedoc sculptures.

It was, however, in Piemonte—as we should naturally expect—that the Provençal influence was strongest. Enlart has already pointed out that the barrel vault of Cavagnolo (Plate 51, Fig. 5), erected c. 1140, shows the influence of southern France where this type of construction, unknown in Lombardy, was frequent. Although I have some doubt whether the existing vault be ancient, I believe that the observation is exact and that this church was originally barrel-vaulted. French influence appears, not only in the barrel vault, but in the broad-leaved capitals of distinctly French type (Plate 51, Fig. 5). One capital even has crockets. If we compare this whole design with that of the church of Charly in France (Plate 51, Fig. 6), we shall convince ourselves that the Piemontese edifice was built under a strong French influence.

The projecting archivolts of Cavagnolo (Plate 51, Fig. 5) are another distinctively exotic motive which is repeated in numerous other edifices, such as Montiglio (Plate 153, Fig. 1). Even more characteristically Provençal are the classic ornaments which appear in Piemonte about this time—eggs and darts (Plate 153, Fig. 4), frets, bead-mouldings and billets (Plate 153, Fig. 4). Decoration of this type is found at S. Maria Maggiore of Vercelli (Plate 215, Fig. 3), Casale, Montiglio and in many other edifices. At the end of the XII century it finds its way into Emilia at Borgo S. Donnino where not only the detail (see, for example, Plate 30, Fig. 1), but the whole composition of

the façade recalls strongly St.-Gilles (Plate 27, Fig. 2), and St.-Trophime of Arles. The sculptures of Benedetto at Parma and Borgo S. Donnino show Provençal influence. Even earlier Nicolò had occasionally drawn his inspiration from this source as well as from Languedoc, as a comparison of the bead-mouldings and other details of the Chase of Theodoric at S. Zeno of Verona (Plate 229, Fig. 2) with a detail of St.-Gilles (Plate 229, Fig. 1), will demonstrate.

At the very end of the XII century Provençal influence in Lombardy became especially strong. The trabeation and insistence upon the horizontal line in the façade of Vezzolano, built in 1189 (Plate 235, Fig. 1), are certainly derived from Provençal models which, in turn, were founded upon the study of classical ruins. This classic, horizontal type of design assumed great importance in Lombardy at the end of the XII century. In the baptistery of Parma we find flat-linteled galleries (Plate 163, Fig. 1), classic capitals and niches in the thickness of the wall. The classic treatment of the four minor sides of the octagon in the lower story externally, that is to say, the use of two columns supporting a lintel and enclosed under an arch (Plate 163, Fig. 1), is probably derived from the same source. In three galleries of the cloisters of Voltorre architraves are introduced instead of archivolts (Plate 243, Fig. 1, 2; Plate 244, Fig. 1, 4).

In view of all this, we may conclude that a decided influence from southern France began to reach Lombardy at least as early as the fourth decade of the XII century.

Soon after, and by much the same natural means, the influence of the Ile-de-France began to permeate into northern Italy. The new architectural forms were not imported by the monastic orders nor wholesale. They filtered in gradually one by one, precisely as did the southern French motives. The greater distance between the Ile-de-France and Piemonte was compensated for by the greater strength and virility of the royal French school and the reputation which it soon acquired. Ornamental details were the first to arrive, and as early as c. 1150, for example, we find at Montiglio a crocketed capital. The

gradual growth and diffusion of Gothic ornamental detail will be studied in a subsequent chapter.

Pointed arches hardly appear in northern Italy before the third quarter of the XII century. This characteristic feature of the Gothic style appears to have been imported, not from the Ile-de-France direct, but from some of the southern provinces. It will be recalled that the pointed arch was used at an early epoch in southern French Romanesque. In the cloisters at S. Zeno at Verona, begun c. 1175, the pointed arch appears in a purely decorative manner (Plate 234, Fig. 2, 4). These cloisters show many points of contact with those of Provence, and the pointed arch seems here to have been introduced merely as a decorative feature of the exotic style, which pleased the builders. The pointed arch is found in the contemporaneous portions of Sagra S. Michele. This monastery, built on one of the main passes leading from Piemonte into Savoie, would naturally, from its geographical situation, be peculiarly exposed to influences from the contiguous French provinces. It was, moreover, an abbey founded by a Frenchman, enjoying numerous possessions in France, peculiarly connected with French pilgrims, and therefore especially susceptible to French architectural influence. At Viboldone, in 1176, pointed arches were introduced as a structural feature in connection with the groin vaults of the choir (Plate 239, Fig. 2). They were used decoratively, however, in the destroyed nave of the cathedral of Ferrara, dating from 1177. At Monteveglio in 1185 the arches of the wall ribs and main arcade are pointed. In the cathedral of Verona, built from c. 1185-1193, there is a completely Gothic vault with pointed arches.

The earliest example of pointed arches in a Cistercian edifice that I can name is to be found in the transverse, wall and main-arcade arches of Morimondo, dating from 1186 (Plate 154, Fig. 2). It appears, therefore, that the pointed arch had been naturalized in Lombardy for upwards of a decade before it was adopted by the Cistercians. A comparison of this church with the baptistery of Varese, built in the following year (1187) will convince the reader that the Cistercians, far from being quicker,

were slower than the secular clergy to adopt Gothic forms. The southern portal of this baptistery (Plate 214, Fig. 4) is completely Gothic in style. Pointed arches are found in the triforia of the nave at S. Maria Maggiore of Bergamo in 1187. At Ranverso in 1188 pointed arches are freely introduced, together with much debased Gothic detail (Plate 190, Fig. 4). This edifice, like Sagra S. Michele, is placed on the great road of the Mt.-Cenis. At Vezzolano in Piemonte we have, in 1189, pointed arches freely introduced in the church and the cloister (Plate 236, Fig. 1, 2, 3, 4; Plate 237, Fig. 2) and a jubé (Plate 237, Fig. 1) of pure French Gothic style. Were it not for the mouldings of the archivolt we might believe it a work of a builder of the royal domain. How purely French is the detail will be apparent upon comparing a capital (Plate 238, Fig. 1) with a capital of St.-Martin-des-Champs at Paris (Plate 238, Fig. 3). Strangely enough this same type of capital found its way into southern Italy also, and may be seen at S. Lorenzo at Amaseno (Plate 238, Fig. 2).

C. 1190 pointed arches are found in the main-arcade and transverse arches of Crescenzago (Plate 87, Fig. 3), and in the vaults of the nave of the cathedral of Cremona. Five years later they are used throughout consistently in the nave of Viboldone (Plate 239, Fig. 2). After the year 1200 they appear with increasing frequency—as, for example, at Borgo S. Donnino (Plate 30, Fig. 4) or in the side aisles of Lomello (Plate 110, Fig. 3)—although round arches frequently survive.

At Aosta, near the frontier, the campanile of S. Orso, erected in 1151, clearly shows French influence in its octagonal spire with four angle turrets.

It is difficult to say at what time Gothic architecture became established in northern Italy. The style of Lombardy never became so completely French as did that of most portions of northern Europe, and only exceptionally (as in the cathedral of Milan) was the native style completely overwhelmed by imported models. Throughout the XIII and XIV centuries something of the old Lombard Romanesque continued to live on amid French elements. Sometimes Romanesque forms

survived practically untouched by Gothic as late as the XIV century, as has been already observed. The earliest example of a purely Gothic edifice in Lombardy that I know is the part of S. Ambrogio at Milan reconstructed after the fall of the vaults in 1196 and now unfortunately destroyed (Plate 119, Fig. 1). Another early example of a church in which the native Romanesque element was completely subjugated to the imported Gothic is found in S. Maria Assunta of Borgo Nuovo.[1] This edifice is surely dated by inscriptions 1211-1227. It again demonstrates that Gothic forms reached Italy, not through the Cistercians, nor by wholesale importation in a conspicuous edifice, but by a process of gradual infiltration.

[1] (Piacenza).

CHAPTER V. CISTERCIAN ARCHITECTURE

Having traced the gentle steps by which the half-hearted transition to Gothic was accomplished in northern Italy, we are now in a position to estimate at its true worth the architecture of the Cistercians. Of late years the thesis of Enlart that Gothic architecture was spread into various portions of Europe, and especially into Italy, through the agency of the Cistercians, has been widely accepted. It is not our concern here to examine whether this thesis be or be not supported by facts in other regions; but it is important to demonstrate its falsity in Lombardy, since otherwise the entire nature of the transition to Gothic will be misunderstood. It may be that the abbey of Aduard, in Flanders, constructed by a lay brother who went to Clairvaux and made drawings of the mother-abbey, was the beginning of Gothic architecture in those regions, although what we know of mediæval methods of building would cause us to regard this chain of evidence with grave suspicion. It may be that the abbey of Fossanova (1187-1208) was the agent by which Gothic architecture was introduced into central Italy, though we have seen the French Gothic style permeating little by little at Corneto Tarquinia, nearly thirty years earlier; but it is clearly and demonstrably false that Gothic architecture was introduced into Lombardy by means of the Cistercians. Enlart's assertion is based upon a superficial and inexact examination of the evidence. Of the eight extant Cistercian abbeys of northern Italy, he appears to have known only two. His lack of familiarity with the non-Cistercian architecture of the region may be inferred by such gross mistakes as the statement that part of S. Ambrogio fell in 1096,[1] and the fact that he is ignorant that the vaults of Montiglio are modern.[2]

[1] Michel, *Histoire de l'Art*, II, pt. 1, 82.

[2] *Ibid.*, I, pt. 2, 55. In this connection see Guido Marangoni, *Il "Sant'Andrea" di Vercelli*, in *Rassegna d'Arte*, Anno IX, 1909, 122, 154, 180.

We shall arrive best at a true conception of the Cistercian style in northern Italy if we examine, in some detail, the extant monuments. The earliest is the Abbazia di Albino, of which the choir was built between 1134 and 1136 (Plate 1, Fig. 1, 2). This part of the edifice shows no Cistercian nor ultramontane characteristics. It is a typical edifice of the region in which it stands. There are three apses, vaults of the Lombard rib or groin type, no transepts nor central tower. The influence of the Cistercian rule is visible only in the severe simplicity and lack of adornment. The nave, erected 1136-1142, shows no change of style except that the diagonals of the ribs are given a torical profile (Plate 1, Fig. 1). This is undoubtedly the result of French influence, since such a profile is frequently found in French churches of earlier date, while it was hitherto unknown in Lombardy. It became one of the most characteristic features of the Lombard Cistercian style.

Of the abbey of Tiglieto, dating from c. 1135, enough remains to show that the piers were T-shaped, the nave roofed in wood, the side aisles groin-vaulted, the edifice plain and unadorned. That is to say, we have here again a Cistercian abbey built in the purely local style, except that everything possible was done to eliminate ornament and give the edifice an air of severe simplicity.

Of the great abbey of Lucedio only the base of the campanile is extant. Chiaravalle Milanese, on the other hand, is well preserved, and, what is almost equally important, surely dated. The construction was begun in 1135. Altars were consecrated in 1196, the entire church in 1221. In this edifice the Cistercians formed the peculiar type of architecture that was to be characteristic of all their churches in Lombardy. In general the building is essentially of the local Lombard style. The alternate system (Plate 55, Fig. 1), the groin vaults of the side aisles, the construction in brick, the arched corbel-tables, the transverse buttresses, all are essentially Milanese. The rib vaults with torus diagonals (Plate 55, Fig. 1) seem to have been copied from Abbazia di Albino, and are, as we have seen, ultimately derived from France. The broadly projecting transepts and

the square apses (Plate 54, Fig. 1) are Cistercian characteristics, doubtless copied from other churches of the order north of the Alps. The elaborate central tower may also be of ultramontane origin (compare the tower of Bagé—Plate 54, Fig. 2), although the feature was also acclimated in Lombardy. In its essential structural and decorative characteristics, therefore, the church of Chiaravalle Milanese is essentially Lombard. Internal evidence makes it clear that the building must have been erected by Lombard workmen, and that purely Cistercian and ultramontane influences made themselves felt chiefly in such features as the monks could readily control, such as, for example, the plan of the east end and the general restraint and severity of the edifice. It is notable that in this building the alternate system was retained, although the Lombard builders had long before generally discarded the construction.

It is only in the western portions of Chiaravalle Milanese, in the parts built after 1196, that French influence appears. Here we find pointed arches, Gothic capitals, and archivolts in two orders.

The abbey of Cerreto, begun c. 1140, depended upon Chiaravalle, the type of which it reproduced (Plate 52, Fig. 1, 3). Rectangular apses covered with pointed barrel vaults, an alternate system, diagonals of torus section, a western narthex, cubic capitals, transverse alternate buttresses, simple arched corbel-tables and a central tower—all these features found at Chiaravalle are here repeated and indeed have now become characteristic of Cistercian architecture. Only two features of Chiaravalle later repeated in other Cistercian edifices are lacking at Cerreto. One is the cylindrical pier, which at Chiaravalle had perhaps been copied from the North (compare Plate 55, Fig. 1, with Plate 55, Fig. 3), and the other is the broad stairway inside the transept leading to the monastic buildings (Plate 55, Fig. 2). In the general design we have the same restraint and simplicity.

Of the monastery of Aequafredda, founded in 1142,[3] the church of which was begun in 1153 and possibly completed in 1193, we have but a fragment of wall. The church of Chiaravalle

[3] Monneret de Villard, 54.

della Colomba, begun in 1145, is, however, well preserved. The design is very closely analogous to the Cistercian edifices we have already studied (Plate 53, Fig. 2, 3). Indeed, the interior differs from that of Cerreto only in that the diagonals are somewhat thinner, and that an intermediate system (perhaps a step towards the uniform system) is introduced. There are flat corbel-tables and ornaments are introduced on the cubic capitals. Ultramontane influence is possibly visible in the design of the western narthex (Plate 53, Fig. 3) which resembles that of the church of Urcel in France (Plate 53, Fig. 1).

These three great Cistercian abbeys of the first half of the XII century—Chiaravalle Milanese, Cerreto and Chiaravalle della Colomba—differ from the final type evolved at Morimondo in that the former have alternate system with round arches, while the latter has a uniform system with pointed arches. Intermediate between the two types stand the two important abbeys of Staffarda and Rivalta Scrivia. The former, built c. 1160, falls without the geographical limits of this book, which is unfortunate since the monument is exceedingly interesting. It conforms to the usual Cistercian type, except that the apses are semicircular and certain of the diagonals have a rectangular section. The system is uniform, and there are some pointed arches. The capitals are of cubic or block Corinthian type, and the church is preceded by a western narthex.

The second intermediate abbey, Rivalta Scrivia, was begun in 1180. It has square apses and alternate system, toric diagonals, pointed arches, French capitals and archivolts in two orders (Plate 192, Fig. 1, 2, 3).

The final development of the Cistercian abbey is illustrated by Morimondo (Plate 154, Fig. 1, 2, 3, 4), of which the church was begun in 1186. The four eastern bays of the nave were finished in 1197. Work was resumed in 1200, the nave was finished before 1237, and the façade erected in 1296. Even at this late date the building remains essentially a Lombard Romanesque structure. The square apses, the central tower and the toric diagonals conform to the Cistercian type. French influence appears in the pointed arches and in certain capitals.

A western exterior narthex is characteristic of many of the Cistercian edifices. Since narthexes often occur in Lombard secular churches of the XII century, it will be well to examine the history of the feature in some detail to determine whether it could have been imported by the Cistercians. And first let us observe that Cistercian edifices were regularly constructed from the east, so that the narthex was the last part built. Thus, none of the extant Cistercian narthexes—Chiaravalle Milanese (Plate 54, Fig. 3), Cerreto, Chiaravalle della Colomba (Plate 53, Fig. 3)—is earlier than the XIII century.

On the other hand, atria and narthexes had probably been constructed in Lombardy from Early Christian times. The restorers believed that an atrium existed at S. Vincenzo of Milan, which in that case would have been erected c. 830. At the cathedral of Novara and S. Fedele of Como atria were probably erected in the X century. These courts were particularly adapted to a southern climate, where they afforded refuge from the excessive heat of the summer sun.[4]

At Sannazzaro Sesia in 1040 there was constructed an interior narthex of three aisles, with galleries (Plate 200; Plate 202, Fig. 1). This abbey had no connection with the Cluniac order, and it is therefore improbable that the design is in any way derived from Cluniac tradition. It probably had a far more natural origin in the logical requirements of a monastic church. Where there was a large body of monks it was felt proper that the lay congregation should be kept separated from the clergy, and that the latter should be able to celebrate the offices in privacy as it were, undisturbed by the presence of secular persons. On the other hand, the laity desired to be present at the offices. The matter was arranged by the construction of an ample narthex or fore-court separated from the main body of the church by a heavy screen. The church itself could thus be given to the exclusive use of the monks, while the narthex accommodated the laity.

[4] Quasi omnes Parochiæ Civitatis, ut nonnullæ progenies Nobilium singulas porticus habent, ubi conversantur Nobiles & multi alii Cives (Anonymi Ticinensis, *De Laudibus Papiae*, XV, ed. Muratori, R. I. S., XI, 43).

A much less extended narthex, serving merely as a vestibule, was erected at Pombia c. 1045. The great atrium of S. Ambrogio of Milan (Plate 116; Plate 118, Fig. 5; Plate 120, Fig. 6, 7) was built in the last quarter of the XI century. There was a similar atrium before the church of S. Stefano reconstructed after 1075. The exterior narthex of Monastero di Capo di Ponte, built c. 1090, is in ruins, but it is clear that it served merely as a sort of vestibule, although this church belonged to the Cluniac order. In the Benedictine abbey of S. Abondio of Como the destroyed narthex was in two stories and of extended dimensions. The upper story, known as the *paradiso,* opened upon a tribune in the western bay of the nave. There was a western narthex at S. Giacomo of Como, built c. 1105, and a narthex with tower in the contemporary Duomo Vecchio of Brescia. There was undoubtedly a western narthex at S. Savino of Piacenza (1107) and another at S. Vitale delle Carpinete (c. 1110). It appears clear, therefore, that this feature, so characteristic of Lombard design in the XII century, was indigenous to the local style and not imported either by the Cluniacs or the Cistercians.

The Cluniac priory of Castelletto Monastero, dating from c. 1110, has a western narthex of two stories, but the contemporary narthex of S. Lorenzo in Verona appears to be indigenous and derived from Early Christian and Byzantine models rather than from Cluny. Entirely Lombard also was the exterior narthex—or, rather, portico—of S. Stefano of Pavia. This seems to have served to supply a shelter from the sun and rain for the citizens, who there found a convenient lounging place.

Perhaps the most interesting of all the exterior nartheces in Lombardy is that of S. Eufemia of Piacenza (Plate 182, Fig. 2).[5] The vaults are modern and the upper part of the construction is Gothic, but the capitals, columns and walls belong to the original construction of c. 1120. Like the destroyed nartheces of S. Simpliciano of Milan and S. Pietro in Ciel d'Oro of Pavia this porch was intended merely to serve as a vestibule

[5] The interior of this church was entirely remade in the recent restoration. It is of interest chiefly for the fragment of the old mosaic pavement depicting a monster.

or lounging place for the citizens. The destroyed atrium of S. Giovanni in Borgo of Pavia must have had a similar scope.

The western narthex of S. Giovanni in Fonte of Verona dates from 1123. In the destroyed cathedral of Novara, dating from c. 1125, there was an interior tribune in two stories over the western portal (Plate 158). The atrium of this cathedral appears to have been rebuilt about the same epoch (Plate 156, Fig. 2). There is a developed western narthex at Cavana dating from 1130, and in the contemporary Benedictine abbey of S. Donato at Abbazia di Sesto Calende, there is a three-aisled fore-structure (Plate 1, Fig. 3) which undoubtedly served to accommodate the laity. A narthex in two stories formerly existed at S. Eustorgio of Milan, and seems to have been disposed like that of S. Ambrogio (Plate 120, Fig. 6, 7). There may possibly have been an atrium, too, since a cemetery existed to the west of the church. There was an interior narthex at S. Maria Maggiore at Vercelli, dating from 1148. The extraordinarily developed narthex of the collegiate church of Casale built c. 1150 (Plate 45, Fig. 7; Plate 46, Fig. 1, 2; Plate 47, Fig. 2) probably served to accommodate the laity. The exterior narthex of Ranverso, dating from 1188 (Plate 190, Fig. 2), seems to have been merely a vestibule. An atrium formerly existed at S. Salvatore of Isola Comacina, since it is mentioned in a document of 1195.[6] The interior narthex at Fornovo, built c. 1200 (Plate 94, Fig. 1), probably served for the laity.

This extended examination of Lombard atria and narthexes has been necessary to demonstrate the fact that the fore-structures served for different purposes, and that they are an indigenous element of the Lombard style. There is no reason to believe that either the Cluniac or the Cistercian order is in any degree responsible for introducing and maintaining in popularity the construction.

Many of the ultramontane characteristics introduced into the Cistercian architecture of northern Italy never influenced to any appreciable extent the local style. Thus, the rectangular apses so typical of Cistercian churches but very seldom were

[6] Monneret de Villard, 67.

reproduced in other churches.[7] Similarly, the pointed barrel vaults with which these apses were covered never appear to have been taken over in other Lombard churches. It is difficult to determine at what date pointed barrel vaults were introduced into Cistercian churches, since it happens that the choirs have been remodelled with more frequency than almost any other part of the edifice, but it is probable that they appeared as early as 1140.[8]

The torus profile given to the diagonal was the most important architectural motive which the Cistercians introduced into northern Italy.[9] Characteristic of almost all vaulted Cistercian edifices, as we have seen, it was eventually taken up by the local builders. In 1188, or half a century after its first introduction at Abbazia di Albino, we find this motive at Ranverso (Plate 190, Fig. 4). At Viboldone it is found c. 1195 (Plate 239, Fig. 2). It reappears in the vaults of Sagra S. Michele and at Vicofertile (c. 1200). It subsequently became characteristic of the Gothic architecture of northern Italy.

We have seen that central towers were known in Lombardy long before the coming either of the Cluniac or Cistercian monks. Nevertheless the central tower—and especially the octangular central tower—was a characteristic feature of Cistercian churches.[10] It is clear that this feature of Cistercian design did not influence the development of the normal Lombard central cupola.

The transept stairways, so prominent and striking a feature of Cistercian internal design—they are found, for example, at Chiaravalle Milanese (Plate 55, Fig. 2), Chiaravalle della Colomba and Morimondo—similarly never were adopted outside the Cistercian order.

[7] Cistercian churches did not always have rectangular apses. At Abbazia di Albino (Plate 1, Fig. 2), Staffarda and Acquafredda the apses are semicircular.

[8] Pointed barrel vaults are found at Chiaravalle Milanese, Cerreto, Chiaravalle della Colomba, etc.

[9] Toric diagonal and transverse ribs are found in certain vaults of Montefiascone (Plate 151, Fig. 5; Plate 152, Fig. 1).

[10] The central tower of Chiaravalle della Colomba has been destroyed, but undoubtedly existed.

The real influence of the Cistercians is rather to be sought in something more intangible than in definite architectural features, and resides principally in the general feeling of the design. Surprising as the observation may seem, as a matter of fact Luther and St. Bernard were strikingly kindred spirits. In both we find the same ideals of simplicity and directness, the same impatience with all that smacks of luxury and physical delight. They both of them tended to carry their hatred of the sensual even to the point of condemning the beautiful in art. Had Luther lived in the XII century, when he might, perhaps, have succeeded in the purpose which he actually first did attempt—that is to say, the reformation of the Church from within—his accomplishment would not have been dissimilar to that of St. Bernard.

There is therefore in the Cistercian order a certain severity which is akin to Puritanism. Scorning the attention which the Benedictine and Cluniac monks had bestowed upon the sumptuousness of the church edifice, shunning architectural ornament as a danger, if not an actual sin, since it tended to distract the thoughts from the more essential parts of religion, the Cistercian order renounced and set its distinct disapproval upon much that had, up to that time, been most vital in mediæval architecture. The towers and turrets which form so characteristic a feature of design in many northern schools were condemned as unnecessary vanities. The Cistercian monastery should have but one tower, to serve only the utilitarian purpose of housing the bells. Although this tower seems to have been seldom of wood, as the strict interpretation of the rule would seem to require, it was generally simple and low and placed over the crossing. The builders were obliged to renounce the twin towers flanking the façade which had afforded so successful a design for the west end of the basilica.

The Cistercians felt that mosaic pavements should be renounced, because it was not right for man to tread the images of the saints under foot. The grotesque capitals and carvings in which the XI century had so delighted were condemned as irreligious and unfitting for the house of God. Sculpture,

stained-glass windows and figure frescos were disapproved of, perhaps because it was believed that money expended in such embellishments might be better used in giving alms to the poor. The builders, accordingly, were obliged to give up that decoration in fresco upon which they had so largely depended for the æsthetic effect of their architecture. In its place they substituted polychome masonry, seeking by contrast and play of colours to atone in some measure for the absence of frescos and relieve the monotony of the wall. Polychrome masonry, however, seldom or never found its way into the Cistercian churches, the walls of which usually remain severe and unadorned. It was used chiefly in secular churches in which an attempt was made to reconcile Cistercian ideals with something of æsthetic charm. In deference to the Cistercians frescos were omitted, but in deference to the artistic feelings of the people, another decoration was found in their place.

Thus, in Cistercian abbeys, all ornament, all embellishment, was reduced to the lowest possible terms. The church remained vast and imposing, but it became cold and bare.

This austere, Puritanistic character of Cistercian architecture is of immense importance for the history of art. From one point of view the influence was salutary. The exuberant, almost extravagant, richness and imagination of the earlier period gave place to restraint, dignity and sobriety. Architecture became purer and more chaste. The wild capitals of the earlier period, with their splendidly imaginative if barbaric decorations, yielded, first to cubic capitals of the utmost simplicity, and then to French Gothic capitals of severe design.

On the other hand, the Cistercian Puritanism tended, just as did the Reformation three centuries later, to produce monotony and dulness in architecture. In the great Cistercian edifices the vast stretches of brick walls unrelieved by any ornament save the severe cornice, the formal regular rhythm of the nave arcades, the frescoless interior, the single central tower, the flat sky line, the absence of sculpture, painted decoration and glass, all tended to produce an effect of dreariness. The coldness and severity of these Cistercian edifices influenced profoundly, although not

always in an absolutely tangible manner, the XII century art of Italy. The secular churches became more and more restrained, more and more severe. At length, in the XIII century, the entire architecture of northern Italy assumes a cold and monotonous character, in which the influence of Cistercian ideals is clearly felt.

Cistercian churches influenced the local architecture also in certain definite characteristics—though not always important ones—which it is possible to trace. Motives of Cistercian origin usually spread first to those other orders which were more or less directly influenced by Cistercian ideals. Of these the most important was that of the canons regular, especially of the rule of St. Augustine.

In the church of Montechiarugolo, which dates from c. 1145, the Augustine canons erected a rectangular apse and a central eastern tower. This looks like a very early example of Cistercian influence in a collegiate church. No other instance appears for some time. S. Vittore at S. Ruffillo di Bologna is a characteristic Augustinian church with a jubé (1178). Distinct Cistercian influence appears, however, in the church of Monteveglio, dating from 1185. This is evident in the simplicity of the structure, the characterless capitals, the exterior of brick relieved only by arched corbel-tables.

The vaults of the collegiate church of S. Eustorgio of Milan, erected c. 1185, show Cistercian influence in their toric profile, as do those of the baptistery at Varese, built in 1187. The Augustinian church of Vezzolano combines a jubé characteristic of that order with a design that in its general dreariness savours strongly of Cistercian influence (Plate 237, Fig. 1; Plate 236, Fig. 3). The Augustinian church of Crescenzago, built c. 1190, is demonstrably a copy of the Cistercian abbey of Morimondo. (Compare Plate 87, Fig. 2, 3, with Plate 154, Fig. 2, 4). The cylindrical piers, the toric diagonals, the uniform system, the pointed arches, the severity of the design, the pointed barrel vaults, and the treatment of the exterior, all are founded upon Cistercian teaching. Even in central Italy, Lombard Cistercian influence found its way in 1207 into the church of S. Maria

Maggiore at Corneto, where the vaults were reconstructed with toric profile (Plate 76, Fig. 5; Plate 77, Fig. 2, 6, 7).

Cistercian influence permeated also the architecture of the orders of the Umiliati and of the Antoniani. Of the former we have the church at Viboldone, built in 1176. The square apses, the cylindrical piers, the toric diagonals and the general lack of adornment, demonstrate Cistercian influence (Plate 239, Fig. 2). The Antonian monastery of Ranverso, built in 1188, also betrays Cistercian influence in the diagonals of toric profile and the general simplicity of the structure.

If I have wearied the reader with so lengthy an examination of Cistercian churches and their characteristics, it has been because this is the only way to demonstrate the somewhat subtle character of the relationship of churches of this order to the local architecture of Lombardy. From what has been said I think it will be clear that the Cistercians were in no way responsible for introducing Gothic architecture into Lombardy. They did, however, create a type of church-building peculiarly their own, essentially Lombard in its character, but modified by certain Cistercian and ultramontane characteristics. A few of these characteristics, not of themselves of essential importance, spread into the churches of the Augustine canons, other canons or of the Umiliati or Antoniani. The toric diagonal even became characteristic of the local style of all Lombardy. The chief influence of the Cistercian order, however, was rather intangible, and consisted in the introduction of severer ideals which lead to monotony and dreariness in the architecture of the end of the XII century in Lombardy.

PART II. ORNAMENT

Book I. Development Between c. 600 and c. 1000

CHAPTER I. CAPITALS

Since the capital is the most characteristic decorative feature of the mediæval church, it will be well to begin our study of Carlovingian ornament in Lombardy with an analysis of the various types of capital executed between the VII and X centuries. It must be confessed at the outset that the frequent use of pilfered material makes the study singularly difficult. Comparatively few monuments of this age are extant, and in those that have survived new capitals appear to have been carved only exceptionally, for pilfered material was generally used. Even when new capitals were executed, they were frequently imitated so closely from ancient prototypes that they can be distinguished with difficulty. Thus, in the church of S. Vincenzo at Milan we find a capital which apparently dates from the VII century (Plate 136, Fig. 2), differing from a capital of the Roman decadence in the same church (Plate 136, Fig. 3) only by the lack of undercutting in the volutes. Both of these capitals are obviously used as pilfered material in the church of the IX century. There is nothing but the internal evidence of the style to enable us to determine their date, and in the case of the cruder capital (Plate 136, Fig. 2) this evidence resolves itself into a negative *reductio ad absurdum*. The capital can be of no other age, therefore it must be of the VII century.

I confess that I make the attribution with considerable hesitancy. The type of the capital is thoroughly Roman, and the acanthus leaves show none of that crisp Byzantine character which there is reason to believe was characteristic of the architectural carving of northern Italy from the VI century onwards.

It is evidently a barbarous imitation of a Roman Corinthian capital, quite free from eastern influence.

Although the documentary evidence is no stronger, I have more confidence in attributing the capital found in the crypt of S. Eufemia on the Isola Comacina by Ugo Monneret de Villard to this same epoch. This capital[1] of thoroughly Byzantine character might almost have been copied from a capital in the crypt of S. Vincenzo (Plate 137, Fig. 3). Although executed with the greatest delicacy, a certain flatness in the treatment of the volutes seems to indicate that we have here the transition from VI century types to a capital like that of S. Pietro in Ciel d'Oro at Pavia (Plate 177, Fig. 2), or of the cloister of the cathedral at Verona (Plate 216, Fig. 2).

In the VIII century we reach ground which seems firmer, although in point of fact it is peculiarly treacherous. The capitals of the ciborio of S. Giorgio di Valpolicella (Plate 198, Fig. 4) are authentically dated monuments of the reign of Luitprando, and were probably executed c. 730. They have, therefore, from the time of Cattaneo been taken as indicating the character of carved ornament in the VIII century. Placed in parallel with the IX century ciborio of S. Eleucadio at S. Apollinare in Classe of Ravenna (Plate 198, Fig. 6), the ciborio of Bagnacavallo (Plate 198, Fig. 5), and other similar monuments, the S. Giorgio ciborio has led to the conclusion that the art of carving was extremely crude in the VIII century, and that it underwent a slow but progressive improvement until, in the XI century, it developed into the full-blown Lombard style. This theory of seductive simplicity made it possible to assign, without fatiguing study, the great mass of undated Carlovingian carvings to approximate dates, which satisfied not too critical students. A careful examination of the extant monuments, however, and of the documentary evidence makes it evident that the thesis does not hold. The church of S. Giorgio di Valpolicella is situated in a remote mountain hamlet, and not in one of the great centres of VIII century civilization. The S. Giorgio ciborio can not, therefore, be taken as typical of the best work

[1] Illustrated by Ugo Monneret de Villard in *Isola Comacina*, 88.

of the age. Contemporaneously, at Bobbio (Plate 24, Fig. 1) and Pavia (Plate 177, Fig. 2), were being executed works which, in the delicacy of their design and the excellence of their execution, surpass anything executed in Lombardy subsequent to the Carlovingian conquest and before the XI century. It is evident that under the Lombard kings there took place a great renaissance of architecture. In the IX century a decline set in, which in the X century became precipitate. A number of undated monuments that, because of their crudity, have usually been assigned to the VIII or even to the VII century, as a matter of fact really belong to the X century. The S. Giorgio capitals must therefore be considered, not as typical examples of the age of Luitprando, but as the crude product of an uncouth carver of the mountains.

Much more typical of the VIII century is the capital of S. Pietro in Ciel d'Oro at Pavia (Plate 177, Fig. 2) now in the Museo Civico of that city. This monument, which came to light during the restoration of the basilica, was never published, perhaps because the local scholars of Pavia feared to weaken the argument for the early dating of the existing church by drawing attention to these undoubtedly genuine remains of the building of Luitprando. The documentary evidence connected with this capital of the famous Lombard king is complete and conclusive. Here we have undoubtedly an example of the best work of the first half of the VIII century.

It will be seen at once that it is infinitely superior to the capital of S. Giorgio (Plate 198, Fig. 4). The carving of the volutes is executed with precision and delicacy. If there is lack of symmetry between the two minor volutes, this is amply compensated for by the restfulness of the composition, the grace and thoroughly architectural character of the charming design. Real crudity appears only in the acanthus leaves under the great volutes on which the veins are scratched in a flat and somewhat childish manner. In this authentically dated monument of 743, therefore, we find the Lombard builders possessed to a surprising degree, not only of skill, but of genuinely artistic feeling.

Ten years later, or in 753, was sculptured the capital in the

crypt of Nonantola (Plate 155, Fig. 2). Although this was an important abbey, the work is far less skilful than that at S. Pietro in Ciel d'Oro. The lower row of acanthus leaves are merely projecting bumps like those of the capital of the S. Giorgio ciborio (Plate 198, Fig. 4). The upper row, though carved, is executed in a most uncouth manner. Strangely enough, the volutes were undercut but supported on little rests.

The Lombard renaissance reappears in full swing in the famous church of S. Salvatore of Brescia, built by the bounty of Desiderio and his family. Here we find a new type of capital, even more sensitive and delicate than that of S. Pietro in Ciel d'Oro at Pavia. The Corinthian form is revived (Plate 35, Fig. 3, 4), but the volutes are executed in the same flat manner and without undercutting, as in the Pavia capital (Plate 177, Fig. 2). A great advance is shown over the latter, however, in the two rows of acanthus leaves exquisitely executed. They are merely blocked out, the petals being left uncarved. The S. Salvatore capital preserves the fine restfulness and feeling for dignity noticed in the S. Pietro in Ciel d'Oro example, while the proportions and execution have been improved.

The capitals of S. Salvatore were frequently copied even after the Carlovingian conquest in 774. At Porcile, Villanova (Plate 241, Fig. 4) and in the cathedral of Verona (Plate 216, Fig. 2), are a group of capitals of very similar type, the two former dating from c. 775, the latter from c. 780. A somewhat similar capital of c. 780 is extant in the crypt of the Duomo Vecchio at Brescia.

The church of S. Vincenzo at Milan exhibits a number of capitals of c. 830 showing great variety of treatment and design. It is evident that here is a great falling off from the work executed half a century earlier in the eastern provinces. The best of these capitals is probably that (Plate 136, Fig. 5) which conforms most closely to the Brescian type. The acanthus leaves, however, are much thicker and coarser, and the carving of the petals does not compensate for the lack of sensitiveness. Other contemporary capitals in this church are somewhat clumsy imitations of Roman (Plate 137, Fig. 2) or Byzantine (Plate 137,

Fig. 5) models. One in which the Brescian uncarved leaves are imitated (Plate 136, Fig. 4) is excessively crude and ill executed. In another of these capitals an interlace is introduced (Plate 137, Fig. 5), an innovation which marks a new spirit in the decoration of capitals. From this time onward we shall see the member assuming a certain stiffness and rigidity of design.

In the capitals of c. 860 in the crypt of S. Anastasio at Asti we see the decadence gathering headway. Roman and Byzantine prototypes are freely copied, strange and unhappy innovations crudely introduced. Clumsy blocks, like those of the S. Giorgio capitals (Plate 198, Fig. 4), and crude scratching to indicate veins, like that of the S. Pietro in Ciel d'Oro capital (Plate 177, Fig. 2), reappear. There is a tendency towards bizarre, stiff types. In the crypt of Agliate (c. 875)—Plate 5, Fig. 4—we find the decadence far advanced. There is the same crude scratching of the veins on the acanthus leaves, the same rigid design. The uncut volutes are executed with the utmost crudity.

Not all the artists of this period, however, fell to so low a depth. In important edifices, such as S. Satiro at Milan (erected in 876), we find still executed capitals that are full of character (Plate 132, Fig. 3, 5). It is true they are far from having the sensitiveness of those carved a century earlier. The design is ponderous and massive, the execution coarse and irregular. The petals of the acanthus leaves in the corners of the best of these capitals (Plate 132, Fig. 5) have assumed a curious convention typical of this age, and best explained by the illustration. About the acanthus leaves is a hard shell or outer leaf. Similarly mannered, similarly heavy and coarse are the Ionic or Corinthianesque capitals of S. Zeno of Bardolino (Plate 19, Fig. 1, 3). The acanthus leaves have scratched veins but a certain rigidity that connects them closely with those of S. Satiro. We are getting farther and farther away from the delicacy of the VIII century. The incised veinings of the acanthus leaves, derived from the S. Pietro in Ciel d'Oro capital, will now become increasingly popular and will reappear at S. Giovanni of Asti and S. Savino of Piacenza. The former, dating from c. 885, shows an even more schematized type of design, with acanthus

leaves like those of the S. Giorgio capital (Plate 198, Fig. 4). In the church of S. Stefano at Verona are slightly later and exceedingly decadent capitals of Corinthian or Composite design (Plate 222, Fig. 1, 2, 4, 5). It is evident we have here crude imitations of the type evolved at S. Salvatore of Brescia (Plate 35, Fig. 3, 4). Technique has clearly declined enormously in the century that has elapsed since the Brescian examples were executed.

In the X century the decadence continued. In the crypt of S. Savino at Piacenza we have authentically dated capitals of 903 (Plate 186, Fig. 2, 3). They show the schematization already observed in the IX century carried even farther. Undercutting is entirely eliminated. On each corner is a leaf with scratched veins, on the centre of each face scratched ornament. The capitals of the crypt of S. Eusebio of Pavia probably date from about this same time (Plate 167, Fig. 3). They are ornamented with a single row of stiff, flat leaves, as crudely executed as the leaves of the S. Savino capital, but with a sort of an outer shell that appears to be a crude attempt to imitate the capitals of S. Satiro at Milan (Plate 132, Fig. 5). Similar leaves are found combined with crudely incised volutes in the capitals of Isola (Plate 100, Fig. 9, 10) which date from c. 900. A characteristic mannerism of the X century is the indication of volutes by merely scratching into the surface (Plate 100, Fig. 9). The capitals of "Group B" of the Chiesa d'Aurona at Milan, by this peculiarity as well as many others, are clearly works of the X century (Plate 114, Fig. 1). Those of the crypt of S. Secondo at Asti, of similar character, doubtless date from about the middle of the X century. In the second half of the X century technique showed some improvement. Certain capitals in the crypt of Lenno, dating from c. 980 (Plate 102, Fig. 3), show the characteristics of the X century, but the acanthus leaves are better executed. Acanthus leaves of similar type are found in authentically dated capitals of 975 at SS. Felice e Fortunato of Vicenza (Plate 239, Fig. 3).

CHAPTER II. CHURCH-FURNITURE

By far the most numerous and most important examples of decoration of the early centuries that have come down to us are the broken fragments belonging to various pieces of church-furniture. The great number of these bits preserved all over Lombardy—and, indeed, all over Italy—makes it clear that during the so-called dark ages practically every church must have possessed notable pieces of furniture executed in stone. At a later period this primitive furniture was considered unworthy, cleared out and usually broken into fragments. These fragments have come to light in modern excavations.

While we have, therefore, a great number of bits of decorative carving, it is singularly difficult to form an idea of the furniture in its entirety. Our best guide for a reconstruction is what we know of the customs of earlier and later times.

The church-furniture of Early Christian basilicas, it is known, almost always comprised two ambones, one for the epistle, the other for the gospel. They were placed opposite each other on either side of the choir. I know of no evidence to show that such dual ambones were ever used at any epoch in Lombardy, although such may well have been the case. In the XI and XII centuries there appears to have been, as a rule, only one ambo—or, as it is perhaps better to term it, a pulpit—as in the Madonna del Castello of Almenno S. Salvatore (Plate 11, Fig. 6), S. Vincenzo of Galliano, or Isola S. Giulio (Plate 100, Fig. 8). The *Anonimo Ticinese* tells us that in each of the dual cathedrals of Pavia there was a single ambo, but in each ambo two lecterns, one for the gospel, the other for the epistle. "All of the larger churches and several of the others have pulpits," he adds. The ambo of the winter cathedral, which he mentions as having two lecterns, is still preserved. It is a large cumbersome structure of brick, with a rib vault. The

extant fragments make it evident, however, that from the VI to the X century the ambones were usually of smaller dimensions and of stone elaborately sculptured.

The Early Christian basilicas were usually provided with a low rail inclosing the choir. This rail was generally decorated. It is almost certain that the Lombard builders in the early centuries adopted—although possibly in more or less modified form—this feature of the primitive basilicas. At S. Vitale of Ravenna there are still standing superb choir-rails which prove that this feature found its way into northern Italy. There is, however, extant in Lombardy no choir-rail in even tolerable preservation.[1] A great many fragments must, nevertheless, have belonged to furniture of this type. One at S. Salvatore of Brescia, almost Arabic in style, possibly dates from the third quarter of the VI century.

The ciborio was undoubtedly taken over by the Lombards at an early date. An ivory pyxis in the Morgan collection shows the ciborio with curtains hung between the columns at the two sides. A lamp is suspended from the middle of the dome, above the altar. It is probable that Lombard ciborii conformed to this type and had curtains at the sides. It is certain that from an early epoch the architrave characteristic of the ciborii of Rome and the South was supplanted by arches or arcuated lintels. Fine ciborii of the end of the XII century are still extant in S. Ambrogio of Milan (Plate 119, Fig. 3) and S. Pietro di Civate (Plate 57, Fig. 3). Four square columns which probably supported a ciborio are extant among the fragments of "Group C" of the Chiesa d'Aurona at Milan, dating from c. 1000 (Plate 114, Fig. 2). It is not certain whether the famous fragments of S. Giorgio di Valpolicella (Plate 198, Fig. 4) which date from c. 730, belong to a true ciborio or to a baptismal font like that of Cividale. At any rate, the arcuated lintels of Bagnacavallo (Plate 198, Fig. 5) seem to have belonged to a ciborio, and at S. Apollinare in Classe the famous ciborio of

[1] Restored rails like those of Pieve Trebbio (Plate 187, Fig. 3) and Agliate (Plate 5, Fig. 2) are, of course, not worth consideration.

S. Eleucadio, dating from the IX century, is still extant (Plate 198, Fig. 6).

On the altar itself decoration appears to have been lavished at all epochs when resources permitted. In poor and country churches it was, however, frequently very plain. The original altars in masonry are still extant at S. Benedetto of S. Pietro di Civate, in the crypt of S. Pietro di Civate, in the baptistery of Galliano and at S. Eufemia of Isola Comacina. They are plain, rectangular structures of masonry with a slightly projecting slab on top. The sides were originally covered with stucco and frescoed. In the IX century a golden altar was made for the basilica of S. Ambrogio in Milan and this altar, remade in the XII century, is still extant (Plate 122, Fig. 3; Plate 123, Fig. 1, 2; Plate 124, Fig. 1, 2). A similar altar existed at S. Calimero of Milan. Lodovico I, in 814, donated two silver altars, one to the Vatican and one to the church of Ravenna.[2] It is evident that at times altars were decorated with stone sculptures. An early example is the altar of Ratchis at Cividale (Plate 3, Fig. 2). There can be little doubt that Benedetto's famous Deposition at Parma (Plate 165, Fig. 4) was originally intended to serve as the front of an altar, as was also the carved slab of similar shape at Fornovo. At Bardone a similar carved altar-slab still serves for its original purpose.

The Early Christian basilicas had a pergola or iconostasis, usually erected on top of the choir-rail and separating the nave from the choir. Fragments belonging to the Chiesa d'Aurona at Milan, and dating from c. 950, seem to indicate that the pergola was adopted by the Lombard builders, at least in that instance. Other fragments of that same church dating from c. 1000 seem to have belonged to an elaborate reliquary perhaps made in the form of a miniature ciborio. There is also extant a stone stool from the same church.

The piscina—at least as far as the extant monuments give indication—seems to have been introduced into Lombardy at a late date by the Cistercians. The earliest example I can name is one at Cerreto which is not earlier than c. 1200.

[2] Sigonio, 168-169.

In the earliest times the baptismal font appears to have been surmounted by an arcade, as in the well known example at Cividale. Later the arcade was omitted, and the bowl was surrounded by a railing usually octangular, according to the symbolism that has been so admirably studied by M. Mâle.[3] According to Isidore of Seville[4] the font should have seven steps, ascending without and descending within. I do not recollect, however, ever to have seen a font constructed in precisely this manner, although there are many with steps—usually three in number—within. A baptismal vase of 1108 has recently been pieced together at Pieve Trebbio. The original depressed font of c. 1125 is extant at Agrate Conturbia. There is a fine baptistery at S. Zeno of Verona, while those of S. Giovanni in Fonte of Verona (Plate 218, Fig. 2) and Varese (Plate 214, Fig. 3) are adorned with important sculptures.[5]

Holy-water basins appear to have been introduced only in the XII century. The earliest that I know is in the cathedral of Cremona. There is one ornamented with a caryatid, at Bardone, but it is not earlier than c. 1200. Another is extant in the museum of Vercelli. The finest of all is the famous one of Borgo S. Donnino, with elaborate sculptures by a follower of Benedetto.

Giulini[6] states that organs were used as early as the VIII century and were regularly manufactured in Europe after 826. If they formed part of the furnishings of churches during the Middle Ages, no provision for them was made in the buildings themselves. They must, therefore, have been small and insignificant.

[3] *Religious Art in France,* 14.

[4] Etymologiarum XV, 4, ed. Migne, *Pat. Lat.,* LXXXII, 545.

[5] The font in the baptistery of Novara has been much modernized.

[6] I, 130.

CHAPTER III. CARVED FRAGMENTS

Aside from the few capitals already described the principal monuments upon which our knowledge of the decorative art in northern Italy between the years 600 and 1000 depends, are fragments of carved ornament which once belonged to church-furniture of one kind or another. It is comparatively seldom that an entire ciborio has come down to us, and even when this has happened, the original monument—as is the case with the celebrated ciborio of Cividale—has generally been so repeatedly restored and patched up that it is apt to be even more puzzling than the isolated scraps of carving.

The new decoration that appears in the VIII century clearly reveals its own derivation. There is comparatively little in the ornament that can be referred directly to a Roman origin. Much more notably than in architectural structure the decoration bears clear marks both of the Byzantine and of the Lombard conquest. The base of the new art is evidently the tradition inherited from the Byzantine monuments erected in northern Italy in the VI century, but this Byzantine foundation has been profoundly modified by new elements which could only have been introduced by the Lombards.

It is, however, a profound mistake to conceive—as has, up to the present, generally been done—that the art of the VIII century was excessively crude and barbarous. The earliest extant monuments of the new ornament are executed with a delicacy of design and a refinement of feeling that were hardly equalled subsequently until the second half of the XII century.

One of the very oldest monuments of the new art has long been well known, and it is singular that it has not before given the clew to the true character of VIII century carved decoration. It is not situated in Lombardy, but in Campania. The portal

of the baptistery of S. Felice at Cimitile, as Cattaneo has proved by documentary evidence, dates from early in the VIII century.[1] In the square columns, the square capitals, and the dainty consoles we find the Byzantine tradition already modified with new elements of a character that we associate with the name Carlovingian. The execution, however, is of the most skilful. The design is restrained and exceedingly well composed, the proportions well studied. In this authentic monument we find no trace of the slovenly execution, the uncouth design, the spirit of barbarity, usually associated with the art of the VIII century.

Precisely similar characteristics are revealed by the sarcophagus now preserved in the Museo Civico at Pavia, and identified by the monogram as being that of Teodote, and hence dating from about 720 (Plate 167, Fig. 1). Here again the well balanced composition, the thoughtful distribution of space and the elegance of the finish show that the carvers of the VIII century possessed technical skill and artistic feeling to an extent which students of that obscure age have hitherto quite failed to grasp. It is only in the extravagance of the grotesque forms, in the serpentine tails of the griffins ending in a flourish of foliage, in the animals' heads growing from plant forms, or in the fantastic tails of the peacocks that we detect the approach of that new spirit that was to dominate Italian carving in the IX and still more in the XI century. It would be hard, however, to find a bead-moulding more perfectly executed among Roman monuments, and, indeed, the whole composition shows extraordinary skill.

The impression of the art of the early VIII century gathered from these two notable and well known monuments is greatly strengthened by a third, perhaps even more important and up to the present entirely unknown. It is the tomb of S. Cumiano at Bobbio, which, according to the extant and authentic inscription, was certainly erected about the year 730 (Plate 24, Fig. 1). The back, ornamented with square guilloches enclosing interlaces, crosses, trees in niches and similar motives (Plate 24, Fig. 1), is executed with the greatest refinement and

[1] Cattaneo, 77.

delicacy. The opposite face is less interesting in design but technically of even higher excellence.

In addition to these carefully designed and beautifully executed works the VIII century did undoubtedly also produce a certain amount of carving of somewhat inferior quality—not as decadent as that produced in the X or even in IX century, but still far from having the merit of the works we have just examined. It is evident that not all the artists were of equal ability. Over-emphasis laid upon the products of rural and inferior workmen has resulted in giving an erroneous impression of the art of the VIII century as a whole. Of these rural carvings perhaps the earliest are those of S. Abondio at Como (Plate 59, Fig. 4, except centre panel). The analogies with the dated works we have just examined and shall shortly consider, leave no room for doubt that these fragments must have been carved about 735; yet the jerkiness of the design, the love of grotesque animals, and the fondness for strange geometrical forms, finds but slight analogy in the works we have so far studied, and marks a distinct tendency towards the decline which in the next century was to become precipitate.

The same tendencies are exemplified and emphasized in the over-famous ciborio of S. Giorgio di Valpolicella, executed during the reign of Luitprando (712-743). S. Giorgio is a remote hamlet in the mountains. It is hence not surprising that work executed here should have a crudeness and a barbarous quality lacking in contemporary monuments executed in centres of civilization. What is surprising, however, is to find in the S. Giorgio ciborio (Plate 198, Fig. 4) motives—such as the crockets and the volutes of the capitals—which were destined to become characteristic of the art of the IX century. These peculiar forms undoubtedly originated simply in unskilled copying of better work. The analogy is therefore to be explained on the theory that similar causes produce similar effects, and it is not necessary to suppose direct influence.

The famous baptistery of Cividale falls without the geographical limits of this book, but it is so important and so puzzling that it can not be passed by altogether in silence.

Although Cividale was at this period a most important city, the art seems to have been, not as rough as that of S. Giorgio di Valpolicella, but not nearly as refined as that of Pavia and Bobbio. The famous octagonal ciborio of the baptistery was first erected in 737 by Callisto, as recorded in the extant inscription. It was restored by Sigualdo (762-776), was rebuilt in 1463, and in 1645 was placed in its present position after the building where it formerly stood had been ruined by an earthquake. It therefore becomes a nice question for criticism to determine what parts of the existing structure are original and what belong to each of the three reconstructions, especially since the monument in its present form is obviously fragmentary. Two facts which have hitherto, I believe, escaped observation, help to establish the true chronology of the monument. The existing capitals were not made for the baptistery, but were taken from the same building as others used in the XII century reconstruction of S. Maria della Valle (Plate 121, Fig. 1), with which they are symmetrical. These capitals date from not earlier than the third quarter of the VIII century. They were added to the ciborio probably in 1463. The second significant fact is that the lower panel in the parapet, carved with the symbols of the four Evangelists (Plate 59, Fig. 3), is by the hand of the same artist who carved the so-called altar of Ratchis (Plate 3, Fig. 2). This fact is proved by so many and so obvious technical peculiarities that it would be merely tedious to enumerate them. The altar of Ratchis must have been erected between 744 and 749.[2]

Now, it is possible that the artist who executed the altar between 744 and 749 could have worked on the baptistery either in 737, under Callisto, or between 752 and 776, under Sigualdo. There is, however, direct evidence that the latter is the case. The inscription stating that Sigualdo restored the ciborio is placed upon this very panel (Plate 59, Fig. 3), which is therefore by implication his work. Furthermore, the style of this panel is sharply distinguished from the style of the upper archivolts

[2] Although the inscription is referred to 741 by Troya (IV, 12).

which, by the inscription, are authentically designated as the work of Callisto.

The portions of the Cividale baptistery executed under Callisto are far superior technically and artistically to those executed under Sigualdo a quarter of a century later. Even the latter, however, are superior to works of the IX century. Sigualdo's artist at Cividale, following in the footsteps of Luitprando's sculptor at S. Pietro in Ciel d'Oro at Pavia, carved the human figure and subjects of definite iconographical import. Such subjects, with the exeeption of a single capital in the crypt of Asti, we shall hardly meet again before the XI century.

The carved slab in the altar of Villanova (Plate 241, Fig. 1) was perhaps executed very shortly after the Carlovingian conquest. While retaining something of the purity of VIII century work in the bead-moulding and in the Latin cross, it is technically far inferior to any works we have yet studied. The legs of the peacocks bend the wrong way, the interlaced ornament on either side of the cross is badly composed and badly balanced. The niches above the moulding are excessively crude and poorly executed. In this monument we see a loss both of technical skill and of artistic feeling. In the famous ciborio of Ravenna (Plate 198, Fig. 6), executed between 806 and 816, we find the decline even more marked. The volutes of the capitals are childish in their formlessness and bad drawing; the rosettes have assumed a thoroughly barbaric character, and the petals of the acanthus leaves are lumpy and formless. The same characteristics are still more developed in the fragments of S. Lorenzo at Verona (Plate 219, Fig. 4) dated c. 840. Here we find again surface scratching and inability to draw a spiral, or even straight lines, in the row of crockets.

The ciborio of the pieve of Bagnacavallo (Plate 198, Fig. 5) is one of the best known examples of the art of this period. The inscription mentions a bishop Deusdedit, but to whom this refers has not been determined, since there are many bishops of this name, and it is not clear to what diocese Bagnacavallo belonged at that epoch. Documents collected by Frizzi[3] prove that the

[3] I, 167.

church was first built in 846, and there can be little doubt that the ciborio was erected at the same time. It must have been transferred into the new building when the pieve was reconstructed c. 1000.

The style of the carving is in perfect agreement with the documentary evidence. Superficially the crockets seem to bear some resemblance to those of S. Giorgio di Valpolicella (Plate 198, Fig. 4), but they are in reality of a much simpler and more decadent type, like those we have already studied at S. Lorenzo of Verona (Plate 219, Fig. 4). There is the same inability to draw a spiral, the same irregularities, the same surface carving, the same decadent technique. Analogy of style makes it certain that the two fragments now at the Università of Ferrara (Plate 88, Fig. 4) and also supplied with an enigmatical inscription, must date from about this time or better a little later, since the composition is even more disordered.

During the second half of the IX century the quality of carved ornament steadily declined until, in the X century, it reached the lowest depth of abasement. The most extreme point of decline is, perhaps, shown by the carving of the fragments of "Group B" of the Chiesa d'Aurona at Milan (Plate 114, Fig. 1, two capitals at lower edge of photograph). The crudely drawn volutes, the ornament scratched on the surface, the acanthus leaves of flaccid type, lazily and flatly indicated, all are merely the intensification of the tendency towards decline we have already observed in earlier monuments. Comparatively little of this age is extant, and the few monuments which have come down to us—mostly capitals—have already been sufficiently discussed in a previous chapter. In the second half of the X century art commenced to revive, and in the early years of the XI century there was a veritable renaissance in the technique of stone-carving. Authentically dated slabs of 1007 coming from Galliano and now at S. Abondio of Como (Plate 59, Fig. 2; Plate 59, Fig. 4, centre panel), show this movement under full headway. Grace of line, well composed ornament, movement and improved execution characterize these charming slabs. There is a tendency towards smaller and all-over patterns. This

work, moreover, is distinguished from earlier by the softness and flaccidness of the technique, as well as by the smoothness of the decorative effect. In the carved slab of the Aosta cloisters (Plate 12, Fig. 1) we find again remarkable movement combined with a feeling for composition and a notable improvement in modelling. The leaf-forms in the radiating spokes of the whirl are executed with tenderness and delicacy, and most charmingly varied. The crocket forms revert to the type already familiar to us at S. Giorgio di Valpolicella (Plate 198, Fig. 4), but abandoned by the less skilful carvers of the IX century (Plate 198, Fig. 5). The animals are no longer merely grotesque, but of symbolical import.

CHAPTER IV. ORNAMENTAL MOTIVES

That the ornament of the VIII century was derived in some part from Lombard sources is indicated by the fact that the motive of the conventionalized fir-tree is prominent in the earliest examples of carved decoration extant. It is found, for example, on the tomb of S. Cumiano at Bobbio—c. 730—(Plate 24, Fig. 1), on the Carlovingian carvings of S. Abondio of Como—which date from c. 735,—and on the baptistery of Cividale in the slab of the lower parapet executed between 752 and 779 by order of Sigualdo (Plate 59, Fig. 3). This motive of the fir-tree is, to the extent of my knowledge, entirely without precedent in Græco-Roman and purely Byzantine art. It must have been originated by people who were familiar with the flora of northern or Alpine countries.

The rope-moulding may possibly also be of barbarian origin although it is one of those simple conventionalizations which might well have originated in any place and at any time. The earliest example which I recollect in Lombardy is the necking of a capital now in the museum of Pavia, but which comes from the church of S. Pietro in Ciel d'Oro and is authentically dated 743. The motive continued in use throughout the Romanesque period, being found, for example, at S. Lorenzo of Verona—c. 840—(Plate 219, Fig. 4), at S. Abondio of Como in 1095, at the Duomo Vecchio of Brescia (c. 1105), at Castell'Arquato—1122-1175—(Plate 48, Fig. 4), and in the cathedral of Parma (c. 1130-1150).

It has been supposed that crockets are derived from the running-dog motive of Lombard and barbaric art. But it seems to me much more likely that the motive is merely a corruption of the Græco-Roman wave-ornament. It appears c. 730 in the ciborio of S. Giorgio di Valpolicella (Plate 198, Fig. 4). In the IX century, as has already been pointed out, it assumes a

different form which we find fully developed at S. Lorenzo of Verona in 840 (Plate 219, Fig. 4). The unique ornaments on the abaci of the capitals of S. Zeno of Bardolino (Plate 19, Fig. 1, 3) are probably a development of this motive. In the XI century the crocket reverted to its purer, more simple form, as in the carving of the cathedral of Aosta of c. 1010 (Plate 12, Fig. 1). In the slightly earlier reliquary of the Chiesa d'Aurona the crockets are free-standing, and thus appear to be a complete anticipation of the well known Gothic motive.

The great majority of ornaments of this early Lombard art is of purely Byzantine origin. One of the most conspicuous, and also the most easily recognized, is the Greek cross. This appears in the tomb of S. Cumiano at Bobbio—c. 730—(Plate 24, Fig. 1) and in the contemporary ciborio of S. Giorgio di Valpolicella (Plate 198, Fig. 4). It is given a great variety of forms and treated in an infinite number of ways, sometimes preserving its type almost pure, as on a capital of S. Zeno of Bardolino dating from c. 875 (Plate 19, Fig. 1), sometimes being combined in a decorative and almost playful manner with other motives. Throughout the Romanesque period it continued to be exceedingly popular in northern Italy.

The guilloche is one of the most characteristic and important of all ornamental motives in use before the year 1000. I suppose it to have been introduced from Byzantine art or at least under Byzantine influence. It is either circular, as in the fragments of S. Lorenzo of Verona (Plate 219, Fig. 4), or square, as in the tomb of Bobbio (Plate 24, Fig. 1). From the guilloche was undoubtedly derived the interlace, which is so characteristic a motive of the carved ornament of northern Italy throughout the Romanesque period. As early as c. 730 we find the interlace developed in its full complexity in the archivolt of the ciborio of S. Giorgio di Valpolicella (Plate 198, Fig. 4). The motive is reproduced in all its wildness in the church of Cravant beyond the Alps (Plate 198, Fig. 2), but is somewhat tamed in the IX century ciborio of S. Eleucadio at Ravenna (Plate 198, Fig. 6). It becomes almost a criss-cross in fragments of S. Abondio of Como of 735—(Plate 59, Fig. 4). C. 830 it was introduced on

a capital of S. Vincenzo in Prato in Milan (Plate 137, Fig. 5), and in the XI and XII centuries was much used to ornament supporting members. It is roughly executed in the fragments of S. Lorenzo of Verona, which date from c. 840 (Plate 219, Fig. 4). It would be merely tedious to enumerate further the abundant examples of this, one of the most characteristic of Lombard ornamental motives.

It is difficult to say whether the rinceau is of Roman or Byzantine origin, since it is found in both arts, but it is certain that the Lombard artists gave it Byzantine character. It occurs in the baptistery of Cividale—752-779—(Plate 59, Fig. 3), and in the XI and XII centuries it was much used. It appears in the window decoration of S. Abondio of Como in 1095, is found in the Porta dello Zodiaco at Sagra S. Michele—c. 1120—(Plate 196A, Fig. 1, 2) and in the cathedral of Parma (c. 1130-1150), to name a few examples among many.

The egg-and-dart moulding, like the rinceau, may have been derived either from Roman or Byzantine art. It appears c. 730 in the ciborio of S. Giorgio di Valpolicella (Plate 198, Fig. 4). As is the case also with the bead-moulding, it continued to be used throughout the Romanesque period, and was particularly popular in Piemonte in the XII century.

Rosettes, which must be derived ultimately from classical art, were common before the year 1000. They may be found, for example, in the ciborio of S. Giorgio di Valpolicella (Plate 198, Fig. 4), on the capitals of S. Pietro in Ciel d'Oro, now in the museum of Pavia and authentically dated 743, and on the capitals of S. Zeno of Bardolino, which date from c. 875 (Plate 19, Fig. 1).

It would be easy, but tedious, to carry the analysis of the ornamental motives in use under the Lombard and Carlovingian sovereigns to much greater detail. I believe, however, that the result would be merely to confirm the impression derived from the cursory examination of a few of the leading motives we have made. The basis of this art was essentially Byzantine, and Roman only ultimately and in so far as Byzantine art itself was derived from the Roman. Some imitation of classical models

there undoubtedly was, but this was a superficial and generally a passing influence. The roots of the art grew from the stump of Byzantine tradition, rudely cut down in northern Italy in the VI century. On this basic stock were engrafted Lombard and to a much lesser extent Roman influences affecting ornamental details, but not the essential character of the art.

CHAPTER V. WINDOWS

While windows at all periods were generally of the typically Romanesque round-headed type, the Lombard builders delighted to give their wall apertures fanciful forms. The window in the form of a Greek cross appears at Agliate as early as 875. In the XI and XII centuries it was very commonly used, especially in gables.[1] At Panico (c. 1145) is a window in the form of a Latin cross.

Circular windows or oculi were very popular, especially in the XII century.[2] Circular oculi with crude tracery were built at Vaprio d'Adda—c. 1115—(Plate 212, Fig. 5). More developed tracery is found in the oculi of the cathedral of Modena (Plate 140, Fig. 3). There is a great difference, however, between these Lombard oculi and the true rose-windows imported from France. In the oculi the tracery is simply cusping of more or less elaborate design. In the rose-windows there are bars or spokes of tracery radiating from the centre. True rose-windows do not appear until the last quarter of the XII century. The earliest example I know is at Morimondo (1186-1197), where there are four bars radiating from a central circle. Most of the rose-windows now existing in Romanesque churches have evidently been added in the XIII century.

Square-headed windows were occasionally used at all epochs. They are found, for example, at SS. Tosca e Teuteria of Verona as early as c. 875 and at S. Ruffillo di Bologna as late as 1178 (Plate 203, Fig. 3).

[1] Examples at Cosio (1078), S. Michele of Pavia (c. 1100), Castell'Arquato (1117-1122), the baptistery of Arsago (Plate 15, Fig. 5), S. Pietro in Ciel d'Oro—1132—(Plate 177, Fig. 3), Almenno S. Bartolomeo—1140—(Plate 11, Fig. 1), etc.

[2] They are found at S. Michele of Pavia (c. 1100), Agrate Conturbia (c. 1125), S. Maria del Solario of Brescia (c. 1130), S. Pietro in Ciel d'Oro of Pavia—1132—(Plate 177, Fig. 3), the baptistery of Arsago—c. 1130—(Plate 15, Fig. 5), at SS. Faustino e Giovita of Isola Comacina (c. 1140), Almenno S. Bartolomeo—c. 1140—(Plate 11, Fig. 1), etc.

Blind diamond-shaped apertures are found at Galliano in 1007 (Plate 96, Fig. 3), and real diamond-shaped windows are extant at Gallarate, a monument which dates from c. 1145 (Plate 94, Fig. 3).

Windows in which the bottom as well as the top is semicircular are found at S. Michele of Pavia (c. 1100), Priocca (c. 1115), Cascina S. Trinità—c. 1130—(Plate 50, Fig. 2), and at Roncoscaglia (c. 1200). At Casale Monferrato (1107) were erected windows of peculiarly fanciful shape, consisting of combinations of trefoils.

Book II. The XI Century

CHAPTER I. CUBIC CAPITALS

It is recognized that the function of a capital in mediæval architecture is to adjust a load of one size and section to a support of smaller size and, usually, of different section. In the great majority of capitals the transition is accomplished—or, more properly speaking, masked—by the introduction of foliage or ornamental carving. It often happened, however, that the builders, whether for economy or some other motive, preferred to omit this decorative ornament and produce the transition by means of purely geometric forms. The problem has been answered in many different ways at different times and different places. The English Gothic builders solved the question by introducing one of their most characteristic motives, the turned or moulded capital. Apparently the Byzantine builders anticipated the Lombards in creating the type of capital which is generally known as cubic, and which is, all things considered, perhaps the most satisfactory method ever discovered of adjusting without carved ornament a square load to a cylindrical support.[1]

Whether the form was evolved over again by the Lombard builders, or whether it was borrowed from the Byzantine monuments is a question which must be left for those more familiar than myself with the history of this motive outside of Italy. I shall only attempt here to show that the cubic capital appeared in Lombard art much later than is usually supposed. To do this it will be necessary to study the various attempts made by the Lombard builders to dispense with carved capitals.

An obvious expedient was simply to omit the capital. This

[1] Choisy, *Histoire*, II, 26.

was tried at S. Giorgio di Valpolicella c. 730. A plain rectangular pier supports a plain rectangular archivolt. The solution has at least the merit of simplicity, and continued in use until as late as 1083 at S. Benedetto di Lenno (Plate 102, Fig. 6).

The next expedient adopted was to use a simple uncarved block of stone. This is found in the ambulatory in the eastern part of the crypt of the cathedral of Ivrea, dating from c. 1000. A hundred years later a similar construction was used in the crypt of S. Donato at Abbazia di Sesto Calende, and persisted until c. 1130 in the baptistery of Arsago.

The third solution advanced was a more subtle and peculiar one. The shaft was made octagonal and was adjusted to the rectangular load by chamfered corners, which formed the capital. This type of supporting member is found in the crypt of the cathedral of Aosta (c. 1010), at S. Pietro of Acqui (c. 1015-1023), at SS. Felice e Naborre of Bologna (c. 1020), and at Renno—c. 1100—(Plate 191, Fig. 4). Some of the capitals in the cathedral of Acqui (c. 1015-1067) approach this type. In the baptistery at Vigolo Marchese (c. 1010) the shaft is made cylindrical instead of octagonal, and the rectangular load simply fades into this cylindrical form. A similar arrangement is found at Sommacampagna—c. 1040—(Plate 207, Fig. 3), Viguzzolo (c. 1050) and Sasso—c. 1050—(Plate 205, Fig. 1).

The earliest true cubic capitals extant in Lombardy are those of Lomello, which date from c. 1025 (Plate 109, Fig. 3, 4), and closely resemble the type just described. They are characterized by high, angular cushions and by the absence of necking. At Stradella some ten years later other cubic capitals were executed of slightly more advanced style (Plate 209; Plate 210). There are no abaci, but necking is introduced. The angular cushions are frequently decorated with incised zigzags. The angular cushion is found c. 1040 at Calvenzano,[2] 1107-1117 in a niche of the gallery at Cremona, and c. 1140 at Cerreto. The earliest extant cubic capitals with abaci and curved cushions are those of Sannazzaro Sesia, which date from 1040 (Plate 201,

[2] De Dartein (Plate XXXIX) illustrates a cubic capital with angular cushion, said to be in the side aisle of S. Ambrogio. It is not now visible in the church.

Fig. 6; Plate 202, Fig. 2). They are low and broad, and the curve of the cushion is accentuated by an incised line. These capitals are of a new type, and mark a radical advance upon those described above.

The capitals of the campanile of S. Satiro, Milan, which date from 1043 (Plate 132, Fig. 1), show a new method of adjusting the rectangular load to the cylindrical support. This is accomplished by means of simple splaying, giving the capital the form of an inverted, truncated pyramid. The experiment was not successful and was not repeated. At S. Severo of Bardolino (c. 1050) the low proportions of the capitals of Sannazzaro Sesia were adopted, but the cushions were made angular, as at Lomello, Stradella and Calvenzano. In the side-aisle responds, however, there are curved cushions with chamfered edges, but here the proportions are high.

The earliest extant examples of cubic capitals of fully developed form are those of S. Vincenzo of Gravedona, which date from 1072 (Plate 100, Fig. 7). The weakness of the execution and the crudeness of the proportions are sufficient evidence that these are exceedingly early examples of the type. The new style of capital acquired a classic perfection of form at Badia di Vertemate—1083-1095—(Plate 18, Fig. 1). From this time it is of very frequent occurrence in Lombard buildings.[3] The facts that cubic capitals of developed form are found frequently from the last quarter of the XI century onward, and that no authentic example of earlier date is extant, whereas, on the contrary, there are numerous tentative and partially developed types of the second and third quarters of the XI century, are a

[3] Examples at S. Abondio of Como—1095—(Plate 59, Fig. 1), S. Giacomo of Bellagio (c. 1095), S. Benedetto di Portesana (1099), Cirié (c. 1100), Almenno S. Bartolomeo—c. 1100—(Plate 11, Fig. 3), S. Giacomo of Como—c. 1105—(Plate 64, Fig. 8), Ivrea (c. 1105), S. Lorenzo of Mantova (c. 1115), S. Giorgio of Almenno S. Salvatore (c. 1120), Nonantola (1121), Cascina S. Trinità (c. 1130), S. Teodoro of Pavia—c. 1135—(Plate 180, Fig. 1, 2, 3), S. Sepolcro of Bologna (c. 1135), S. Maria del Tiglio of Gravedona (c. 1135), Chiaravalle Milanese (1135-1221), S. Lanfranco of Pavia—c. 1136—(Plate 168, Fig. 2), Cerreto—c. 1140—(Plate 52, Fig. 3), S. Pietro of Asti—c. 1160—(Plate 16, Fig. 4), Staffarda (c. 1160), Viboldone—1176 and c. 1195—(Plate 239, Fig. 2), Rivalta Scrivia—1180—(Plate 192, Fig. 2), Morimondo (1186-1296), Ganaceto (c. 1200), Borgo S. Donnino (XIII century), etc.

sufficient proof that this type of capital was not understood in Lombardy before the year 1075. Once discovered the form quickly recommended itself to the Lombard builders, and was constantly used during the XII century and even—as is well known—in the Gothic period..

Although the classic type of cubic capital became a sort of canon which was repeated with very slight variations during the entire XII century, certain developments and modifications of the motive were introduced.

Various attempts were made to add ornament to the cubic capital. One of the earliest of these is found at Mariano (c. 1100) where there is a cubic capital covered with an interlace. At Pieve Trebbio (1108) is a cubic capital decorated in a somewhat similar manner. At SS. Gervasio e Protasio of Baveno (c. 1135) the cubic capitals were adorned with foliage. Incised lines following the curve of the cushion were introduced in the cubic capitals of the Atrio di Pilato at Bologna (Plate 25, Fig. 7), reviving a mannerism which had been introduced at Sannazzaro Sesia a century earlier. Similar capitals are found in the Confessi (c. 1150), part of the same shrine of S. Stefano at Bologna. Rosettes, carved leaf patterns and grotesques were introduced on the cubic capitals of Panico c. 1145. At Chiaravalle della Colomba (c. 1145-1200) the cubic capitals are ornamented with leaves or other motives introduced in the angles and an incised line following the curve of the cushion. In the baptistery of Parma (1196-1214) certain cubic capitals are ornamented with wavy lines.

In some instances the cubic capital was given a new effect by reducing proportionately the height of the cushion. Capitals of this form are found at Brusasco—c. 1130—(Plate 37, Fig. 4) and are characteristic of the school of Parma of the late XII century.[4] An analogous, though different, variation is given to the capitals of Mont'Orfano, which assume a peculiar fan-like form. Splayed capitals are found at S. Ruffillo di Bologna (Plate 203, Fig. 5) and elsewhere.

Sometimes the cushion was made convex instead of concave,

[4] See Fornovo, Vicofertile, etc.

as at Almenno S. Bartolomeo (Plate 11, Fig. 3), S. Zaccaria (c. 1140), Carpi (1184), S. Pancrazio (c. 1135). Moulded imposts are characteristic of the Veronese school—being found, for example, at Porcile—1143—(Plate 189, Fig. 4). This motive was extended to circular piers, as at Morimondo—1186—(Plate 154, Fig. 3). In the western bays of Morimondo, executed after the year 1200, flat corbel-tables were introduced beneath these imposts (Plate 154, Fig. 2). A similar arrangement is found in the western intermediate piers of Rivalta Scrivia (c. 1200). At Crescenzago (c. 1190) there are circular imposts but no corbel-tables (Plate 87, Fig. 3).

In conclusion, therefore, we may state that before the third quarter of the XI century we find in Lombardy only undeveloped, or what we may call proto-, cubic capitals. While I should hesitate to infer from this that the cubic capital was independently evolved in Lombardy, the monuments are amply sufficient to demonstrate that the builders up to this time had only a hazy and ill-defined conception of the true form of the capital, and that they were experimenting to discover its possibilities. About the eighth decade of the XI century the cubic capital in its perfected form appears for the first time. It continued to be repeated throughout the following century—and, indeed, much later—in the same form. It is evident that once the builders had learned the classic type they were satisfied with it and adopted it. At times efforts were made to elaborate it in a purely decorative and playful spirit. Such capitals are in general without great historic importance, and are easily to be distinguished from the proto-cubic capitals of the second and third quarters of the XI century. In the latter we feel the builders attempting to discover a solution to their problem. In the former the problem has been solved, and the builders are merely playing with the external decoration, leaving the structural underlying form essentially unchanged.

CHAPTER II. OTHER CAPITALS

Of the Roman orders it was only the Corinthian and its variant the Composite that deeply affected Lombard architecture.[1] Many variations were wrought in this type; the proportions, the shapes of the leaves and the character of the volutes were frequently altered, yet the underlying rudiments of the classic capital are generally unmistakably preserved, and the type is ready to revert unexpectedly to its original classical forms. At S. Vincenzo of Galliano (Plate 96, Fig. 2) we have finely executed Corinthianesque capitals of the year 1007. There is only a single line of leaves which are uncarved, as is frequently the case at all periods. The minor volutes have been replaced by a cross. The Corinthian capitals of SS. Naborre e Felice of Bologna, executed c. 1020, are of very different type (Plate 26, Fig. 4). Here there are two rows of leaves with serrated petals and minor, as well as major, volutes. The cross has reverted to a fleuron. In the Battistero of Lenno (c. 1085) the Corinthianesque capitals have a single row of acanthus leaves and parallel incised lines of strongly Lombard character. On the other hand, at Monastero di Capo di Ponte (c. 1090) there are Corinthian capitals with acanthus leaves of extremely classical character. At S. Abondio of Como, which dates from 1095, the Corinthian capitals with carved or uncarved leaves are well executed but very simple in design. A rather crude, block Corinthian capital was executed for S. Lorenzo of Verona in 1110 (Plate 221, Fig. 4). About the same time capitals were being executed for the cathedral of Modena which so perfectly reproduce antique

[1] Ionic capitals were seen by Cattaneo at SS. Felice e Fortunato of Vicenza, and are still extant at S. Zeno of Bardolino (Plate 19, Fig. 1, 3). They are also found at S. Savino of Piacenza (1107) and Castell'Arquato (1117-1122). Those of the Madonna del Castello at Almenno S. Salvatore are of the XVI century (see Vol. II, p. 44). At Isola S. Giulio there is a Doric capital in the ambo.

models that by many writers they have been mistaken for classical works. Thus we see that the tradition of the Corinthian capital persisted and was never forgotten, although the form was freely varied and developed.

The Lombard capital may not improbably have been derived from the Corinthian. An early step in the direction of its formation is preserved in a capital of S. Sofia, Padova, which dates from c. 1010 (Plate 161, Fig. 4). We have here, combined with grotesques, volutes and acanthus leaves which appear clear, though distorted, reminiscences of the Corinthian form. The next step in the evolution was to make the capital compound. A capital of this type was seen by Cattaneo at SS. Felice e Fortunato of Vicenza. It probably dated from c. 1030. The capitals of Lodi Vecchio, which were executed about the middle of the XI century, are also compound, and in their ornamentation show a notable advance over those of S. Sofia (Plate 105, Fig. 1, 2, 4). In them we find all the essential characteristics of the Lombard capital. In the capitals of Brusasco, which are about contemporary (Plate 37, Fig. 5), the vegetable ornament is especially developed.

The Lombard capital reached its perfected form at S. Ambrogio of Milan. The types created in endless variety in this important edifice (Plate 118, Fig. 2; Plate 120, Fig. 2, 3, 4; Plate 122, Fig. 2) were destined to exert great influence upon subsequent art. As early as 1091 they were copied at S. Anastasio of Asti. Soon after they inspired the capitals of Rivolta d'Adda, S. Michele of Pavia, the cloisters of Ivrea—c. 1105—(Plate 101, Fig. 4), and a host of other monuments. In 1107 the Lombard capital appeared splendidly developed at S. Savino of Piacenza (Plate 186, Fig. 4, 5, 6, 7). About the same time it spread to Cremona. C. 1110 the masons of Cemmo in the Alps were imitating the capitals of the great abbey church of Milan. At Milan itself the type was undergoing but little modification, as is shown by the capital of S. Stefano, which dates from 1112 (Plate 133, Fig. 1). Even at Vaprio d'Adda as late as c. 1115 the capitals still betray the direct influence of S. Ambrogio (Plate 213, Fig. 3, 4), and the same models were

evidently imitated in the church of Maderno, erected 1120 (Plate 112, Fig. 3). The type, however, gradually underwent a change. The capitals of S. Giorgio of Milan, executed 1129, are hard, coarse and lifeless (Plate 128, Fig. 5). Those of S. Pietro in Ciel d'Oro of Pavia show notable refinement and delicacy, with a tendency towards more minute surface decoration (Plate 178, Fig. 1, 4). In the cathedral of Parma, Milanese influence was tempered by a certain classic restraint derived from Modena. The result was a new type of decoration of which there is an excellent example in the impost of Montechiarugolo, executed c. 1145 (Plate 148, Fig. 2). After the third decade of the XII century the Lombard capital become less common, yielding gradually to other types, though it still occasionally lingered on, albeit in much altered and modified form, until the end of the century. (See, for example, the capital at Ranverso—1188—Plate 190, Fig. 2).

A curious type of capital which deserves at least brief mention is found in the church of S. Maria Canale of Tortona, which dates from c. 1040 (Plate 211, Fig. 4). The volutes have become spurs which fill the angles of the bell. More developed capitals of this type occur in the church of the Annunziata at Corneto (Plate 66, Fig. 2) and in the ambulatory of Aversa. The latter are almost precisely similar to a capital which has recently been discovered at S. Eufemia of Isola Comacina.

CHAPTER III. GROTESQUES

One of the most important elements in Lombard ornament is undoubtedly the grotesque. Since a vast deal of nonsense has been written on this subject, it will be well to make here the emphatic statement that the great mass of these decorations are not symbolic. Those who have attempted to find in them the allegorical representation of Virtues and Vices and other abstractions show themselves profoundly ignorant of the spirit of mediæval art. It is rather curious that these writers, who are so intent upon finding a mystic meaning where it was not intended, have almost invariably missed the symbolism which does undoubtedly exist in the more serious figured work.

To lay aside any suspicion that the grotesque carvings of Lombard churches are symbolical, the well known and often quoted passage from St. Bernard would in itself be sufficient, especially since this seems to have been written with particular reference to the Romanesque art of northern Italy. To the ornament of no other region would his description, which explicitly mentions fierce lions, monstrous centaurs, half-men (sirens ?), fighting knights, trumpeting hunters, one head joined to many bodies and many bodies joined to one head, apply so aptly.[1] Fortunately, however, in Lombardy it is not only the evidence of St. Bernard which can put us on the right road. The

[1] Cæterum in claustris coram legentibus fratribus quid facit illa ridicula monstruositas, mira quædam deformis formositas, ac formosa deformitas? Quid ibi immundi simiæ? quid feri leones? quid monstruosi centauri? quid semihomines? quid maculosæ tigrides? quid milites pugnantes? quid venatores tubicinantes? Videas sub uno capite multa corpora, et rursus in uno corpore capita multa. Cernitur hinc in quadrupede cauda serpentis, illinc in pisce caput quadrupedis. Ibi bestia praefert equum, capram trahens retro dimidiam; hic cornutum animal equum gestat posterius. Tam multa denique, tamque mira diversarum formarum ubique varietas apparet, ut magis legere libeat in marmoribus quam in codicibus, totumque diem occupare singula ista mirando quam in lege Dei meditando. Proh Deo! si non pudet ineptiarum, cur vel non piget expensarum? (S. Bernardi Abbatis Clarævallensis, *Apologia ad Guillelmum*, XII, 29, ed. Migne, *Pat. Lat.*, CLXXXII, 915).

sculptors themselves were fond of adding inscriptions explaining or commenting upon the significance of their carvings, and very frequently give us the clue to underlying symbolism when it exists. In the case of grotesque subjects there is not only the negative evidence that there is extant not a single inscription which hints at allegorical meaning, but the positive evidence that several inscriptions distinctly indicate that such representations are to be taken in lighter vein. "I am here to amuse fools," says a man gravely stroking his beard, who is sculptured on a capital of Montefiascone. Nicolò, at Sagra S. Michele and Piacenza, has left inscribed: "These sculptures may be understood by any good man who enters or leaves the church." At Sagra S. Michele he even goes on to say: "Thou seest flowers mixed with animals." The mock funeral of the fox in the pavement of S. Maria Maggiore at Vercelli was inscribed with the legend *ad ridendum*. At times the inscription has a humorous quality. "O how I sweat under this heavy load!" exclaims a caryatid at Piacenza. The Lombard grotesques are, therefore, fantastic creations of the imagination, quite innocent of symbolism, and designed solely for the purpose which they so admirably fill—that of amusing and delighting whoever sees them.

The Lombard builders came into their grotesques by honest inheritance. This element was taken over from the Romans by the Early Christians, and, in fact, has never wholly disappeared from Western art. It is probable, however, that the extreme popularity of grotesques in the Lombard period was caused—at least in part—by the fact that they were easier to execute than serious figure sculptures. In the VIII century the artists found their skill hardly adequate for the representation of the human form. In the altar of Ratchis at Cividale (Plate 3, Fig. 2), in the baptistery of the same city (Plate 59, Fig. 3), and in the seven heads sculptured upon a capital of S. Pietro in Ciel d'Oro of Pavia, now in the museum, we see the art of figure-sculpture in its death agony. With the exception of one capital in a crypt at Asti, I know of no other figure-sculptures executed in Lombardy until the Renaissance of the XI century was ushered in by the important capital of Acqui (Plate 3, Fig. 5). The artists,

foreed to abandon the human form, embraced the grotesque element with double enthusiasm. As early as c. 735 it is prominent in carved slabs of S. Abondio of Como (Plate 59, Fig. 4).

It was, however, in the seeond half of the XI century that grotesques attained their greatest popularity, and that the artists suceeeded in imbuing them with that barbarie, fantastic character which fascinates us to-day, just as it did the men of the XI and XII eenturies. At Lodi Veechio (c. 1050) the grotesque element is exceedingly prominent on the capitals (Plate 105, Fig. 1, 4). Here we find for the first time, so far as I am aware, the motive of two animals with a single head forming the volute of the capital—a motive destined to beeome so popular in Lombard art. From this time onward the grotesques became more extravagant and more fantastie, both in mosaic and in carved ornament. The capitals of S. Ambrogio perhaps mark the point of highest development in this type of deeoration (Plate 120, Fig. 2, 3).

St. Bernard was not alone in feeling that grotesque ornament had been carried too far to be suitable for a church-building. In this, as in much else, he merely voiced the conseienee of his time. Long before the abbot of Clairvaux thundered his denunciation there had been noticeable a tendency in Lombard art to restrain and moderate the extravaganees of the grotesques. This was accomplished in two ways—by the introduetion of serious figure-subjects among the grotesques, and by taming the grotesques themselves. As time went on the grotesque element beeame constantly less predominant, although it never entirely disappeared. Even at S. Ambrogio some attempt was made to introduce serious figure-sculptures. At S. Miehele of Pavia, for all the wildness of the grotesques, there are still represented a number of subjects unmistakably of religious import. At Monastero di Capo di Ponte (c. 1090) there are introduced on the eapitals, amidst extravagant grotesques (two animals with a single head, sirens, etc.), eagles, which, if not symbolical are at least more restrained and less fantastic than mueh of the earlier decoration. Eagle eapitals subsequently beeame extremely

popular. We find them at Calvenzano (c. 1095), S. Lorenzo of Verona—c. 1110—(Plate 221, Fig. 2), S. Maria del Tiglio of Gravedona (c. 1135), S. Maria of Bergamo—1137—(Plate 22, Fig. 7), S. Simpliciano of Milan (1171), Carpi (1184), S. Fedele of Como—c. 1115—(Plate 63, Fig. 8).

At S. Abondio of Como (which was consecrated in 1095) grotesques occur only in the exterior decoration, and in the contemporary church of S. Pietro of Bologna serious subjects are mixed with grotesques in the capitals of the portal. In the Chiesa d'Aurona of Milan—1095—(Plate 114, Fig. 1, 2; Plate 115, Fig. 1) the grotesque element is distinctly less prominent than at S. Ambrogio. At Rivolta d'Adda, on the other hand—c. 1099—(Plate 196, Fig. 1, 2, 4, 5), grotesques are freely used in the capitals. About the beginning of the XII century they still formed an important element in the decoration of mosaic pavements, as at Acquanegra, S. Michele of Pavia (Plate 174, Fig. 2), Pieve Terzagni, S. Salutore of Turin, etc.

The grotesque decoration at times tended to degenerate into obscenity. Such sculptures were probably once much more abundant than they are at present, since many were doubtless mutilated by the prudery of the XVI, XVII and XVIII centuries. The earliest examples that I know are at S. Michele at Pavia, and date from c. 1100. At Modena are others, executed probably about the middle of the XII century. As late as 1196-1207 indecent sculptures were executed for the frieze of the southern tower of Borgo S. Donnino (Plate 30, Fig. 2).

During the first quarter of the XII century the grotesque element in decoration was still exceedingly important. There are, for example, grotesque capitals at Castelnuovo Scrivia—c. 1100—(Plate 50, Fig. 7) and at Cremona (1107-1117). In the vaulting capitals of the latter edifice are introduced caryatids, a new element which Guglielmo da Modena probably copied from ancient Roman monuments, and which was much used by his successors, especially Nicolò. In the cathedral of Piacenza caryatid statues were used to replace columns in the exterior galleries. They are frequently found supporting architraves or in Lombard porches. At Cemmo the corbels of the arched

corbel-tables were carved with heads c. 1110. The latter motive was repeated at Denzano. The stilt-blocks of the capitals in the exterior galleries are carved with grotesque heads at Cremona, Piacenza and Lodi.

It would be merely tedious to trace in detail the use of grotesques during the XII century. They became constantly less conspicuous, although occasionally they burst forth with a wildness—as at Cortezzone d'Asti—c. 1150—(Plate 82, Fig. 2, 4) or in the pavement of Casale (c. 1140)—which shows the spirit of the XI century was smothered rather than extinct.[2]

[2] Those who are curious may trace the gradual passing of the grotesque element in the following monuments: S. Fedele of Como—c. 1115—(Plate 63, Fig. 8; Plate 64, Fig. 1); Castell'Arquato (1117-1122), Sagra S. Michele, Porta dello Zodiaco,—c. 1120—(Plate 196A, Fig. 1, 2), S. Fermo di Sopra (c. 1125), Brusasco (c. 1130), Cavana (c. 1130), Cavagnolo—c. 1140—(Plate 50, Fig. 6; Plate 51, Fig. 4), Piacenza (1122-c. 1150), Parma (c. 1130-1150), Pavia, S. Teodoro,—c. 1135—(Plate 180, Fig. 4, 5, 6); S. Zeno of Verona (c. 1138), pavement of S. Benedetto Po (1151), Ferrara (1177), cloister of S. Stefano of Bologna (c. 1180), baptistery of Parma (1196-1214).

CHAPTER IV. BASES

There appears to have been but little progress or development in the design of bases throughout the entire Romanesque period in Lombardy. Before the year 1000—and, indeed, during the XI and XII centuries as well—ancient material was very frequently pilfered to supply this part of the structure, a fact which probably tended to establish the type of moulding used even when new material was employed. The Attic base inherited from the Romans continued to be the standard form. While its proportions were varied, the succession of mouldings—consisting of a square plinth, a torus, a scotia and another torus—was generally preserved unaltered. This type is of constant occurrence.[1]

Many of the base profiles which at first sight seem to differ from the Attic upon analysis resolve themselves into a variant of the standard form. Thus at Lodi Vecchio (c. 1050) we have bases in which all the characteristic members of the Attic profile are preserved, but flattened so that the base loses entirely its spreading character, and becomes vertical. This type of base is frequently met with in Lombardy. At Castelnuovo Scrivia (c. 1100) and Porcile (1143) the central scotia is much developed, and the two tori reduced in size, so that the base seems to have a totally different character. At Carpi (1184) are Attic bases with fillets. At Stradella (c. 1035) the lower torus is made a quarter-, instead of a half-, round, and the scotiæ are in some cases decorated with a rope-moulding (Plate 209; Plate 210). At Mont'Orfano (c. 1145) the central scotia is replaced by a long vertical member.

In many instances the central scotia is replaced by a torus.

[1] It is found, *e.g.*, in the baptistery of Vigolo Marchese (c. 1010), at Calvenzano (c. 1040), at Castell'Arquato (1117-1122), in the Atrio di Pilato of Bologna (c. 1142), at Castelnuovo Scrivia (1183), etc.

The profile then consists of a plinth and three superimposed tori. There is a base of this sort at S. Satiro of Milan, dating from 876. The type is repeated at S. Vincenzo of Galliano (1072), at S. Pietro of Bologna (c. 1095), in the crypt of the cathedral of Parma (1117), at S. Giulia of Bonate (1129), and at Montiglio (c. 1150). The number of tori is often varied. At the Badia di Vertemate (1083-1095) there is a single torus with a fillet above. At S. Lorenzo of Mantova the bases are formed by flat stones surmounted by a moulding. At Roffeno (1104) there are two tori. The extraordinary bases of Cortazzone d'Asti (c. 1150) are similar (Plate 82, Fig. 2).

Griffes, which had been used in Byzantine architecture, and are found at Aachen,[2] do not, to the extent of my knowledge, appear in the Romanesque architecture of northern Italy before the XI century. According to Cattaneo they were found at SS. Felice e Fortunato of Vicenza in bases belonging to the church rebuilt c. 1030. At Lodi Vecchio there are extant fine examples dating from c. 1050. From that time onward the griffe is of very frequent occurrence.[3]

There remains to be noted one other peculiarity in the design of bases in Lombard churches. I refer to the habit of using inverted capitals in this position. The mannerism might appear to have originated in the use of second-hand material, but seems instead to have been derived from Byzantine tradition. A reversed capital is used as a base in one of the cisterns at Constantinople.[4] An early example of this construction in Italy is preserved in the church of S. Lorenzo at Milan. Bases in the form of inverted capitals are found at S. Vincenzo of Gravedona (1072), Almenno S. Bartolomeo—1140—(Plate 11, Fig. 3), S. Lorenzo of Verona (c. 1110), Vaprio d'Adda (c. 1115), Panico (c. 1145), S. Lazaro of Pavia (1157), S. Ruffillo di

[2] Venturi, III, 26.

[3] Examples at Almenno S. Bartolomeo (c. 1100), Castelnuovo Scrivia—c. 1100—(Plate 50, Fig. 7), S. Giulia of Monchio (c. 1100), Cemmo—c. 1110—(Plate 51, Fig. 2), Vaprio d'Adda—c. 1115—(Plate 213, Fig. 2, 3, 5), Fontanella (c. 1130), S. Maria del Tiglio of Gravedona (c. 1135), Chiaravalle della Colomba (c. 1145-c. 1200), S. Pietro of Asti (c. 1160), S. Lorenzo of Cremona (c. 1195).

[4] Choisy, *Byzantines*, 14-15.

Bologna—1178—(Plate 203, Fig. 5) and Vezzolano, in the west gallery of the cloisters—c. 1180—(Plate 237, Fig. 2), as well as in the east gallery (1189). It is singular that this mannerism was copied in the Romanesque architecture of Brittany, where it acquired great importance. It is another proof that Breton architecture in the XII century was closely dependent upon the Lombard style.

CHAPTER V. ARCHED CORBEL-TABLES

The arched corbel-table has been almost universally recognized as the most typical and characteristic ornament of the Lombard style, as indeed it is. It is not surprising, therefore, that it has attracted from archæologists a considerable amount of attention. All the studies that have been made of this ornament, however, are misleading because founded upon an error which has given a false starting-point for the genealogy of the entire Lombard style.

The arched corbel-table does not appear in northern Italy—nor anywhere else to the extent of my knowledge—before the year 1000. The mistaken conviction that it was in use continuously from the VI century onward has, more than any other single misconception, resulted in confusing and confounding the true chronology of Lombard architecture.[1]

The cathedral and baptistery of Ravenna are often cited as examples of arched corbel-tables dating from the Byzantine period. It was, however, recognized by Ricci that these Ravenna cornices have been much rebuilt, and an examination of the masonry leaves no possible room for doubt that the arched corbel-tables were added after the year 1000. In fact, there is documentary evidence that the apse of the cathedral was reconstructed in 1112,[2] and the character of the bricks is a sufficient indication that the cornice of the baptistery was remade a century earlier.

We look through the not meagre list of authentic extant monuments erected in northern Italy before the year 1000

[1] So far as I recollect, Stiehl is the only archæologist who has grasped even approximately the history of the arched corbel-table, and he places its appearance half a century too late. "Als einfache Wandgliederung, ohne dass jeder Bogen eine innere Oeffnung umfasste, kommt der fortlaufende Bogenfries wohl vor den letzten Jahrzehnten des elften Jahrhunderts in Italien kaum vor" (Stiehl, 8).

[2] Venturi, III, 420.

without finding a single other example of the arched corbel-table. Those of S. Vincenzo in Prato of Milan were added out of the whole cloth by the XIX century restorers, as is happily proved by ample documentary evidence. Before 1880 this IX century basilica possessed no arched corbel-tables. Similarly without this ornament are all the extant Carlovingian monuments—SS. Tosca e Teuteria of Verona (Plate 223, Fig. 2), S. Giorgio di Valpolicella, S. Zeno of Bardolino, etc. Certain edifices with arched corbel-tables have been assigned to an early date, which in reality were erected in the XI or XII centuries. A conspicuous example is the pieve of Bagnacavallo, which has been usually attributed to the VI century, although there is documentary evidence that it was not founded until the IX century, and the existing church is in the style of the XI century.

Having therefore cleared our minds of the misconception that arched corbel-tables were used before the year 1000, let us seek light upon the origin of the motive.

It has been generally recognized that the prototype of the arched corbel-table is the blind arch used in Byzantine architecture, as, for example, in the tomb of Galla Placidia, or in the clearstory of S. Apollinare in Classe, both at Ravenna. The motive seems to have been widely spread in northern Italy. It is found above the arcade of arches supported on columns in the ambulatory of S. Sofia at Padova, dating from c. 550, and it occurred in the church of S. Maria delle Caccie at Pavia, a monument the date of which it is now quite impossible to determine.

It appears, however, that it was only at the end of the X century that the Lombard builders took over and revived the old Byzantine motive. In the outside wall of the crypt of the ambulatory at S. Stefano of Verona is a blind arcade with free-standing columns dating from c. 990 (Plate 222, Fig. 2). At Spigno, an authentically dated monument of 991, the church was decorated externally with a series of blind arches (Plate 207, Fig. 4). These arches were supported, not on columns, but on pilaster strips, in the Byzantine manner. It is true that the upper part of the cornice, with the arches themselves, has disappeared,

but analogy with later monuments leaves no doubt as to the original dispositions. At S. Pietro in Valle (c. 1005) the blind arches are in perfect preservation (Plate 203, Fig. 2). At S. Vincenzo of Galliano, an authentically dated monument of 1007, we find blind arches used to decorate the apse (Plate 99, Fig. 1) and alternating with the windows in the clearstory (Plate 96, Fig. 3). At S. Giovanni of Vigolo Marchese, an authentically dated monument of 1008, the motive reappears (Plate 240, Fig. 5), as it does also in the baptistery of the same place—c. 1010—(Plate 240, Fig. 3). In the lower half of the baptistery the blind arches are supported on engaged half columns. It is therefore evident that during the last decade of the X century and the first fifteen years of the XI century, the old Byzantine motive was freely used by the Lombard builders.

They continued to use it also in later times. Thus, in the baptistery of Lenno (c. 1085) there are blind arches supported on half columns and pilaster strips on either side of the portal (Plate 102, Fig. 2). At S. Sofia of Padova there are blind arches in two orders dating from c. 1106 and c. 1126 (Plate 161, Fig. 3). At S. Giorgio of Almenno S. Salvatore there are blind arches supported on pilaster strips with engaged shafts (Plate 11, Fig. 7). There is a blind arch in the façade of Maderno, a monument which dates from c. 1120 (Plate 112, Fig. 1). In the cathedral of Parma, which was built between 1130 and 1150, blind arches were a favourite motive of decoration (Plate 165, Fig. 1; Plate 166, Fig. 4). From thence they were extensively copied in local churches of the school of Parma, as, for example, Vicofertile (Plate 240, Fig. 1), S. Andrea of Parma (1216), S. Croce of Parma (1222), Gaione, Collecchio and S. Ilario di Baganza. They found their way also to S. Maria Maggiore of Bergamo—1137—(Plate 22, Fig. 5). At Modena blind arches enclosing galleries and arched corbel-tables (Plate 140, Fig. 1, 3) formed a characteristic part of the design. This peculiar decoration was copied at Ferrara (Plate 89, Fig. 3) and Carpi (Plate 42, Fig. 6). The experienced eye finds no difficulty in distinguishing the later examples of blind arches from the rude, simple, primitive type.

Although blind arches or arcades were not used in an architectural manner by the north Italian builders of the Carlovingian epoch, the tradition of the motive seems to have survived in decorative carvings. Thus, we find something very similar represented in the tomb of S. Cumiano at Bobbio—c. 730—(Plate 24, Fig. 1), in carved slabs of S. Abondio of Como (c. 735), and numerous other examples that might be cited. Even in the XI and XII centuries blind arches or niches continued to be represented in decoration. We find them, for example, in the mosaic pavements of Pieve Terzagni and S. Benedetto Po, and in the sculptured archivolts of the cathedral of Piacenza (Plate 181, Fig. 1; Plate 182, Fig. 4).

Another motive admittedly closely related to the arched corbel-table is the blind niche so characteristic of the cornices of Lombard half domes. The construction obviously originated in the external masking of the semi-dome. The north Italian builders found that the exigencies of their rigorous climate made impracticable the frank external treatment of the dome, such as is frequently found in more southern latitudes. They accordingly covered the half dome of their apses with a simple lean-to roof, and continued the wall straight up to meet the eaves. The half dome was thus masked externally. In order to obviate the great waste of material which would otherwise ensue, and perhaps also to make the construction more truthful, the architects introduced blind niches occupying the space between the eaves and the springing of the dome. The earliest example of such a cornice that I know is the apse of S. Vincenzo in Prato of Milan, which dates from about 830 (Plate 137, Fig. 4). Although this important monument was most unfortunately denatured in the restoration of the XIX century, there appears to be good reason to believe that the niches were in two orders and that the second order was supported on pilaster strips. The second order of these niches obviously forms a motive which closely resembles the arched corbel-table.

Similar niches, but seemingly of more primitive character—since they are of a single order—occur in the apse of Agliate (Plate 5, Fig. 7). The crude rubble used in the construction

perhaps necessitated that the second order should be eliminated. The motive seems to have spread rapidly, for niches much like those of Agliate appear without the limits of Lombardy in the cornice of the apse of the church of St.-Martin at Aime (Savoie). In the baptistery of Agliate there was originally a cornice of niches similar to that of the basilica, but a row of arched corbel-tables was added below in a later restoration (Plate 5, Fig. 5, 6). The same thing has occurred in the baptistery of Novara, where only the original cornice of niches dates from c. 900 (Plate 156, Fig. 3). The motive survived at S. Calimero in Milan—c. 990—(Plate 125, Fig. 2), and in the apse of S. Eustorgio, which dates from c. 1000 (Plate 127, Fig. 4), though here the entire upper part of the cornice, including the second order of the niches, is modern. A cornice of blind niches is found in the absidiole of the southern campanile of the cathedral of Aosta, a monument which dates from c. 1010. In the baptistery of Biella (c. 1040), the motive is repeated with a second order carried on pilaster strips (Plate 24, Fig. 2). In this instance it is used not only in the cornices of the half domes but also in that of the central vault. In fact, from this time onward we shall find blind niches employed with domes as well as with half domes. The blind niches of the apse cornice of Lodi Vecchio (c. 1050) appear originally to have been in only a single order (Plate 104, Fig. 3). At S. Nazaro of Milan the blind niches of the apse cornice are still extant (Plate 128, Fig. 3), but have obviously been very much rebuilt. Those of the cupola which are still in perfect preservation are in two orders (Plate 128, Fig. 1). In the cupola of S. Michele of Pavia is a cornice of blind niches not earlier than c. 1100 (Plate 173, Fig. 5; Plate 175, Fig. 2). In the clearstory wall of the Duomo Vecchio of Brescia—c. 1105—(Plate 31, Fig. 7), the blind niches are in three orders, and surmounted by arched corbel-tables. They are also surmounted by arched corbel-tables in the apse of S. Giacomo of Como, which dates from c. 1105. In the apse of Cemmo—c. 1110—(Plate 52, Fig. 2) the blind niches are in two orders and supported on pilaster strips. Similar niches are found in the apse of Isola S. Giulio (c. 1120). At Agrate Conturbia—c. 1125—(Plate 10,

Fig. 3) the blind niches are supported on columns with capitals running back into the wall. They have virtually become engaged galleries.

In certain monuments of the late XII century of the region of Cremona the niched cornice underwent a striking and highly decorative development. The height of the niches was much increased. The result was such striking cornices as those of S. Lorenzo (Plate 86, Fig. 1) and S. Michele (Plate 86, Fig. 3) of Cremona.[3]

While I should be disposed to believe that the second order of niched cornices exercised indirectly considerable influence on the evolution of the arched corbel-table, the weight of evidence seems to show that the latter motive developed more directly out of the blind arch. We have seen that the niched cornice continued in use from the IX to the XII century without undergoing any essential change or development. Blind arches, on the other hand, appeared in Lombard architecture for the first time in the last decade of the X and in the early years of the XI century. Now, if we conceive of a building such as, for example, Spigno (Plate 207, Fig. 4), of which the walls were entirely decorated with a series of blind arches like those still preserved in the apse of Galliano (Plate 99, Fig. 1), we shall readily perceive that the construction of this surface ornament would be a matter of considerable difficulty and expense. It could be much simplified by omitting, let us say, half of the pilaster strips. The result would be arched corbel-tables grouped two and two. Now, as a matter of fact, the earliest extant arched corbel-tables are grouped two and two, and they appear c. 1000, or about ten years after the motive of blind arches had been revived. In the earliest examples, like those of the Pieve of Bagnacavallo—c. 1000—(Plate 18, Fig. 5) or Montecchia di Crosara (Plate 147, Fig. 2), the arched corbel-tables have precisely the appearance of blind arches of which half the pilaster strips have been cut off. At S. Fedelino on the Lago di Mezzola—c. 1000—(Plate 102, Fig. 1) and in the campanile of S. Giorgio di Valpolicella

[3] The evolution of these cornices may be studied at Calvenzano—c. 1140—(Plate 39, Fig. 1) and Pizzeghettone (c. 1170).

(c. 1000), the motive has assumed more the appearance of developed arched corbel-tables, but the grouping is still two and two. It continues to be two and two in the Foresteria of Sagra S. Michele, an authentically dated monument of 1002, and at S. Ponzo Canavese—c. 1105—(Plate 203, Fig. 4). At S. Giovanni of Vigolo Marchese, an authentically dated monument of 1008, the arched corbel-tables are also grouped two and two (Plate 240, Fig. 5). This monument illustrates with particular clearness the evolution of the arched corbel-table from the blind arch. At the cathedral of Aosta (c. 1010) the arched corbel-tables continued to be grouped two and two, as they are also in the baptistery of Galliano, which dates from c. 1015. At S. Pietro of Acqui, an authentically dated monument of c. 1015-1023, the arched corbel-tables are still grouped two and two (Plate 4, Fig. 5). In the apse of this monument we find again strong evidence that the arched corbel-table was derived from the blind arch (Plate 4, Fig. 2). In the apse of the cathedral of Acqui, a monument begun c. 1015, but finished only in 1067, the arched corbel-tables are grouped two and two on the absidioles (Plate 2, Fig. 5, 6; Plate 3, Fig. 1). Elsewhere on the edifice, however, the arched corbel-tables are grouped in larger numbers and are sometimes in two orders. This is the beginning of the evolution of the motive. Introduced c. 1000 as the direct development of blind arches, arched corbel-tables until this time had continued to be grouped two and two.

At Piobesi, erected c. 1020, the apse cornice is adorned with blind niches surmounted by arched corbel-tables grouped two and two or three and three (Plate 188, Fig. 2). In this monument the arched corbel-table proper and the second order of the blind niche reach their point of contact. At S. Antonino of Piacenza, an authentically dated monument of 1022, we find the first example of true arched corbel-tables grouped three and three (Plate 182, Fig. 5). At Mariano (c. 1025) the arched corbel-tables are grouped two and two and three and three (Plate 113, Fig. 2). At Lomello, a monument built about the same time, the arched corbel-tables are grouped two and two or three and three (Plate 110, Fig. 1, 2). The presence of blind

arches over the clearstory windows here again proves the close relationship between the two motives. In the country churches of Sparone and Cavriana the arched corbel-tables are grouped two and two, although these edifices are contemporary with Lomello.

At Pombia (c. 1030) the arched corbel-tables are grouped two and two or three and three. In the apse of SS. Felice e Fortunato of Vicenza (c. 1030) the arched corbel-tables are grouped two and two (Plate 239, Fig. 4). The motive was repeated symmetrically when the apse was raised in 1179. The arched corbel-tables are grouped two and two at S. Sepolcro of Milan, an authentically dated monument of 1030 (Plate 133, Fig. 2, 6), and in the contemporary campanile of S. Stefano of Pavia. In other monuments of c. 1030, however, we find a notable development of the motive. At Spinairano the arched corbel-tables are grouped two and two and three and three. At Oleggio (Plate 159, Fig. 5) the arched corbel-tables are arranged in one group of two, three groups of three, one group of four, one group of five, one group of ten, and one group of eleven. It is evident that the builder was developing the motive rapidly. Beside this there are on the façade four groups of three arranged in a primitive and fantastic manner so as to follow the slope of the gable, as will be clear from the illustration (Plate 159, Fig. 5). A similar tendency to develop the motive is noticeable at Sezzè, an authentically dated monument of 1030 (Plate 206, Fig. 3, 4). Here the arched corbel-tables are, for the most part, grouped two and two, but there is one group of three and one of five. Similarly, in the contemporary church of Mazzone (Plate 187, Fig. 1) we find a desire on the part of the builders to reduce the number of pilaster strips. There are here twenty groups of three and three, and three groups of four and four.

At Stradella (c. 1035) the arched corbel-tables are grouped four and four or five and five on the apses (Plate 211, Fig. 1) and fully developed on the southern wall (Plate 211, Fig. 2). At Susa (c. 1035) they are also developed. At Sannazzaro (1040) we have an example of fully developed arched corbel-tables authentically dated 1040. From this time onward arched

corbel-tables grouped two and two, three and three, or even four and four were used with increasing rarity, and finally came to be supplanted almost entirely by the fully developed type, except when revived, especially in certain mannered edifices of the school of Parma, in which they were frequently employed in conjunction with blind arches.[4] Even in fully developed arched corbel-tables, however, pilaster strips, or, more frequently, shafts, were used to support the cornice at intervals, so that the arches occasionally continued to be grouped in as small numbers as three and three or even two and two.[5] The presence of shafts, the quality of the masonry or other tell-tale characteristics of the late epoch, make it easy to distinguish such modifications of the fully developed motive from the early stages we have just been tracing. There

[4] At S. Nicolò of Piona (c. 1040) the arched corbel-tables are grouped two and two, three and three, four and four, with some fully developed (Plate 188, Fig. 4). At Casalino (c. 1040) they are grouped three and three, five and five, seven and seven, or in larger groups (Plate 48, Fig. 1). At S. Pietro di Civate (c. 1040) they are grouped two and two, three and three, four and four and in larger groups (Plate 56, Fig. 1, 2). At Sommacampagna (c. 1040) they are fully developed. Groups of four and four and larger numbers occur in the campanile of S. Stefano of Ivrea, an authentically dated monument of 1041. The arched corbel-tables of the campanile of S. Satiro of Milan (Plate 132, Fig. 2), an authentically dated monument of 1043, are fully developed. Fully developed also are those of S. Benedetto of S. Pietro di Civate—c. 1045—(Plate 56, Fig. 4), S. Severo of Bardolino (c. 1050), Sasso—c. 1050—(Plate 205, Fig. 2), and Lodi Vecchio—c. 1050—(Plate 105, Fig. 3). In the campanile of SS. Gervasio e Protasio of Baveno (c. 1050) they are grouped three and three or in larger numbers. The groups are of two and two, three and three, and five and five at Viguzzolo—c. 1050—(Plate 241, Fig. 2). At Curreggio—c. 1055—(Plate 87, Fig. 1) the arched corbel-tables of the apses are grouped four and four. S. Vincenzo of Gravedona, an authentically dated monument of 1072, has arched corbel-tables grouped four and four on the southern wall (Plate 100, Fig. 4), but six and six on the northern wall (Plate 100, Fig. 5). Arched corbel-tables of fully developed type are found at Cosio (1078), Fontanella—1080-1090—(Plate 91; Plate 93, Fig. 1), S. Giacomo of Bellagio (c. 1095), Cappella del Cimitero at Sagra S. Michele—c. 1100—(Plate 196, Fig. 3), S. Vincenzo of Abbazia di Sesto Calende (Plate 2, Fig. 1), the cathedral of Cremona (1107-1117, 1129-1141), S. Fedele of Como—c. 1115—(Plate 61), Vaprio d'Adda—c. 1115—(Plate 212, Fig. 5), Castell'Arquato (1117-1122), Isola della Scala—1120—(Plate 101, Fig. 1), Nonantola (1121 f.), Novara—1125—(Plate 157), the baptistery of Arsago—c. 1130—(Plate 15, Fig. 5), Fontanella—c. 1130—(Plate 93, Fig. 3), Parma cathedral—c. 1130-1150—(Plate 166, Fig. 4), S. Maria del Tiglio of Gravedona—c. 1135—(Plate 100, Fig. 1, 2, 3), Chiaravalle—1135-1221—(Plate 54, Fig. 1), Chiaravalle della Colomba—c. 1145-1200—(Plate 53, Fig. 3), Cremona baptistery—1167—(Plate 83, Fig. 6), Rivalta Scrivia (1180), Castelnuovo Scrivia (1183), Morimondo—1186—(Plate 154, Fig. 4), Varese—1187—(Plate 214, Fig. 1), S. Maria Maggiore of Bergamo—1187—(Plate 23, Fig. 2), Crescenzago—1190—(Plate 87, Fig. 2), Lodi (c. 1190), S. Michele of Cremona—c. 1200—(Plate 86, Fig. 3), etc.

is similarly no difficulty in distinguishing from early examples the arched corbel-tables grouped two and two, revived in an archaistic spirit during the last part of the XII century, especially in the province of Parma.[6]

As was natural with a motive so constantly repeated, the arched corbel-tables underwent various developments and embellishments. At Sannazzaro Sesia (1040) open-work patterns are introduced beneath the arches. Such patterns are found in fresco at Mazzone (c. 1030). They are found also in the Romanesque campanili of the Val d'Aosta (notably at Courmayeur) and in the campanile of Pomposa. Related to this motive are the perforated ornaments introduced in the arched corbel-tables of Portocomaro (c. 1120). At Panico (c. 1145) a criss-cross is introduced under certain arches. At Montiglio (c. 1150) the spandrels are cut out. At times the arched corbel-tables were adorned with elaborate carvings, principally of a grotesque nature. Such are found at S. Maria di Castello of Corneto (1121), Porcile (1143), Montafia—c. 1150—(Plate 147, Fig. 3), Cortazzone d'Asti—c. 1150—(Plate 82, Fig. 4) and Viarigi (Plate 239, Fig. 5). In the school of Verona the corbels under arched corbel-tables were frequently heavily moulded as at S. Giovanni in Fonte of Verona (1123).

Since blind niches in two orders had been executed from an early epoch, it was natural that a second order should be given also to the arched corbel-table. The earliest example of this embellishment that I know is in the apse of the cathedral of

[5] In the slender campanile of S. Andrea of Campo di Lenno (c. 1085) the arched corbel-tables are grouped two and two. They are grouped three and three in the contemporary baptistery of Lenno (Plate 102, Fig. 2). In the Duomo Vecchio of Brescia (c. 1105) they are grouped four and four (Plate 31, Fig. 7). On the flanks of Portocomaro (c. 1120) the arched corbel-tables are grouped three and three. They are also grouped three and three on the apses of S. Giovanni in Fonte of Verona (1123) and in the lower portions of Almenno S. Bartolomeo—1140—(Plate 11, Fig. 1).

[6] Instances of arched corbel-tables of late date grouped two and two are found at SS. Faustino e Giovita of Isola Comacina (c. 1140), the apse of S. Carpoforo of Como (c. 1145), Lodi (c. 1190), Careno (c. 1200)—there are here also arched corbel-tables grouped three and three,—Vicofertile—c. 1200—(Plate 240, Fig. 1), S. Andrea of Parma (1216), S. Croce of Parma (1222), Gaione, Collecchio and S. Ilario di Baganza. This mannerism is probably derived from the interior arched corbel-tables of the cathedral of Modena, which were grouped two and two.

Aequi—c. 1015-1067—(Plate 2, Fig. 5; Plate 3, Fig. 1). The motive frequently appears in the second half of the XI and in the XII century.[7]

One of the most curious developments of the arched corbel-table was the triangular form sometimes given to the arches. Such triangular arched corbel-tables appear to have been erected at S. Sofia of Padova (c. 1106). They reappear at S. Sepolcro of Bologna c. 1160 and at S. Ruffillo di Bologna in 1178 (Plate 204, Fig. 2, 3; Plate 203, Fig. 3). It is curious to note that this motive is found in France in the chapel of the Templars at Laon (Plate 204, Fig. 4), which perhaps dates from about 1160.

To the extent of my knowledge the earliest example extant of the double arched corbel-table is in the church of Brusasco, and dates from c. 1130 (Plate 37, Fig. 4).[8] The motive appears at S. Pietro in Ciel d'Oro in 1132 (Plate 177, Fig. 3), and from this moment is of very frequent occurrence.[9] It was employed about a circular lunette of Almenno S. Bartolomeo—c. 1180—(Plate 10, Fig. 6) and about a circular window at S. Michele of Cremona.

The flat corbel-table appears in Lombardy only towards the end of the XI century, and therefore was introduced much later than the arched corbel-table. It will be recalled that in northern Europe flat corbel-tables appeared before the arched corbel-table. There is room for considerable doubt as to whether the flat corbel-table was evolved in Lombardy independently as a natural and logical abbreviation of the arched corbel-table, or

[7] Examples at S. Benedetto di Lenno (1083), S. Abondio of Como (1095), S. Giacomo of Bellagio (c. 1095), S. Lorenzo of Mantova—c. 1115—(Plate 1112, Fig. 2), Maderno—c. 1120—(Plate 112, Fig. 1), S. Sofia of Padova (c. 1123), S. Pietro of Villanova—1148—(Plate 241, Fig. 3), the campanile of Modena—1167-1184—(Plate 140, Fig. 3), S. Marziano of Viarigi—c. 1180—(Plate 239, Fig. 5).

[8] The ornament was found, however, in the façade of S. Giovanni in Borgo of Pavia (Plate 167, Fig. 4), which dated from c. 1120.

[9] Examples in the cathedral of Parma—1132—(Plate 166, Fig. 3), SS. Gervasio e Protasio of Baveno (c. 1135), the Chiesa Rossa of Milan (1139), S. Maria Maggiore of Vercelli (1148), Marentino—c. 1150—(Plate 113, Fig. 1); Montiglio (c. 1150), the campanile of Modena (1167-1184), Casorso (c. 1180), Almenno S. Bartolomeo—c. 1180—(Plate 10, Fig. 6), Albugnano (c. 1185), Vezzolano—1189—(Plate 235, Fig. 1, 2), Lodi (c. 1190), etc.

whether the motive was imported from the North. It is a curious fact, and one which rather tends to strengthen the latter hypothesis, that the earliest example of the flat corbel-table extant is in the Cluniac church of Monastero di Capo di Ponte (Plate 146, Fig. 2). This edifice, erected c. 1090, on the extreme northern frontier of Italy, was peculiarly subjected to ultramontane influences which are reflected in more than one detail of the architecture. At all events, the flat corbel-table became thoroughly naturalized in Lombardy by the construction (c. 1100) of S. Michele of Pavia, an edifice in which flat corbel-tables are extensively used internally and externally (Plate 173, Fig. 5; Plate 176, Fig. 5) and which was widely copied throughout northern Italy. It is perhaps worth while to note at this point that S. Michele of Pavia seems to show close analogies with the architecture of the Tyrol not only in the use of flat corbel-tables. At Schloss Tirol, near Meran, are portals carved with grotesque animals which closely resemble those of S. Michele. (Compare Plate 173, Fig. 1, with Plate 173, Fig. 2, 3). I suppose, however, that the portals of Meran were inspired by those of Pavia rather than vice versa. It is certain that S. Michele of Pavia was much imitated, even far beyond the limits of Lombardy. The portal of the cathedral of Ely (Plate 173, Fig. 4) seems strongly reminiscent of the Pavian edifice.[10]

The engaged gallery which became so conspicuous a motive of the Lombard style of the XII century was perhaps a development of the arched corbel-table inspired by the blind arches supported on columns which, as we have seen, had been known from Carlovingian times. At Calvenzano there is extant a fragment of cornice in which colonnettes are placed beneath an

[10] Later examples of flat corbel-tables may be found at Novara—c. 1125—(Plate 157), Cremona (1129-1141), S. Pietro in Ciel d'Oro of Pavia (1132), S. Teodoro of Pavia (c. 1135), Almenno S. Bartolomeo—c. 1140—(Plate 11, Fig. 1), Montechiaro d'Asti (c. 1140), Chiaravalle della Colomba (c. 1145-1200), S. Lazaro of Pavia—1157—(Plate 170, Fig. 1), Staffarda (c. 1160), S. Pietro of Pianezza (c. 1160), S. Sepolcro of Bologna (c. 1160), Almenno S. Bartolomeo—c. 1180—(Plate 10, Fig. 6), Albugnano (c. 1185), Chiesa Rossa of Voghera—c. 1185—(Plate 242, Fig. 1, 2), Morimondo—1186—(Plate 154, Fig. 4), Vezzolano—1189—(Plate 235, Fig. 1; Plate 236, Fig. 1, 4), Viboldone (c. 1195).

arched corbel-table (Plate 39, Fig. 2). Although of later date this, perhaps, suggests the origin of the gallery. The apse cornice of S. Michele of Nonantola on the other hand—1101—(Plate 156, Fig. 1) gives reason to believe the gallery may have originated in the niched cornice—an hypothesis strengthened by a study of the cornice of S. Costanzo (Plate 23, Fig. 3). The earliest example of a true gallery that I know is the apse cornice of Rivolta d'Adda, which dates from c. 1099. At S. Michele of Pavia (c. 1100) the motive of the gallery appears in its full charm and development (Plate 173, Fig. 5). In the apse cornice of S. Giacomo of Como, which dates from c. 1105, there is a very high gallery with excessively stilted arches. The galleries of S. Sofia of Padova, which date from 1106 (Plate 161, Fig. 1), are ponderous and supplied with moulded archivolts. It was, however, the type of gallery used at S. Michele that was destined to prevail. This type was reproduced at Cremona (1107-1117, 1129-1141), in the cupola of Isola S. Giulio (c. 1120), at Castell'Arquato (1117-1122), at S. Giovanni in Borgo of Pavia—c. 1120—(Plate 167, Fig. 4), at S. Maria in Betlem of Pavia—c. 1129—(Plate 170, Fig. 4), at S. Maria del Solario of Brescia—c. 1130—(Plate 32, Fig. 2), in the cathedral of Parma—c. 1130—(Plate 166, Fig. 3, 4; Plate 165, Fig. 1), at S. Pietro in Ciel d'Oro of Pavia—1132—(Plate 177, Fig. 3), at S. Lanfranco of Pavia—c. 1136—(Plate 168, Fig. 3), at Mont'Orfano (c. 1145), at S. Lazaro of Pavia—1157—(Plate 169, Fig. 2, 3, 4; Plate 170, Fig. 1), at the cathedral of Piacenza (Plate 181, Fig. 2; Plate 182, Fig. 3), and in many other examples that might be named.

Galleries probably paved the way for the introduction of blind arcades as a decorative motive. This ornament, we have seen, had been known in northern Italy from early times. During the XI and XII centuries it acquired extraordinary popularity both north and south of Lombardy, especially in the Norman, Anglo-Norman and Tuscan schools. It appears at Casale c. 1150 in a particularly Norman form, that is to say, as an intersecting arcade (Plate 47, Fig. 1). The motive had already been used five years before at Gallarate (Plate 94, Fig. 3, 4),

but here the colonnettes were in some cases placed under only every other corbel-table.

One is apt to think of arched corbel-tables as an ornament confined exclusively to the exterior of buildings. The Lombard builders, however, used the motive not infrequently on the interior. At S. Ambrogio of Milan arched corbel-tables mark the string-course of the gallery (Plate 119, Fig. 3, 4). At the baptistery of Arsago (c. 1130) they are supported on a system. They are used internally at S. Pietro in Ciel d'Oro of Pavia (Plate 178, Fig. 4), in the baptistery of Cremona and in the west wall of Lomello (Plate 109, Fig. 4). They formed the interior cornice of the nave and side aisles in the cathedral of Modena before the present vaults were erected. They are used in the apse of S. Celso of Milan. Blind arches are employed as an interior decoration at S. Zaccaria and S. Michele of Pavia. A regular cornice is introduced in the interior of the nave of S. Pietro of Bologna (Plate 25, Fig. 6).

Lombard cornices were not always formed of arched corbel-tables or variants of the motive. At Monastero di Capo di Ponte (c. 1090) the cornice of the clearstory is formed of a simple cavea moulding (Plate 146, Fig. 2). Similar cornices are found at S. Pietro of Acqui (c. 1023), Monastero di Provaglio—c. 1130—(Plate 147, Fig. 1), Panico (c. 1145) and Careno (c. 1200). At S. Carpoforo of Como there was originally no cornice, the arched corbel-tables which at present exist in the eastern part of the edifice having been added in the recent restoration (Plate 60, Fig. 4, 5). Similarly at Piobesi (c. 1020) the clearstory and side-aisle walls are without cornices (Plate 188, Fig. 1, 2).

CHAPTER VI. PILASTER STRIPS AND SHAFTS

We have seen in the preceding chapter that the pilaster strip is an inseparable adjunct of the arched corbel-table. The ornament has also been suspected of being the germ from which was evolved the buttress. It is therefore a motive of considerable importance in the Lombard style.

Although there is little to throw light upon its origin, there can be no doubt that it was more or less directly inspired by the Roman respond or pilaster. The earliest extant example of the motive that I know occurs on the apse of S. Vincenzo in Prato of Milan, which dates from c. 830. Here we see pilaster strips supporting the second order of the blind niches (Plate 135, Fig. 4; Plate 137, Fig. 4). The motive reappears in the apse of Agliate—c. 875—(Plate 8), but here the blind niches are in a single order and the pilaster strips are somewhat thoughtlessly continued to the eaves.

Pilaster strips continued to be used without undergoing any essential development until the XI century. In the apse of the cathedral of Aequi—c. 1015-1067—(Plate 2, Fig. 5) they are in two orders. At S. Pietro of Aequi—c. 1015-1023—(Plate 4, Fig. 2) and Piona—c. 1040—(Plate 188, Fig. 4) they are placed on a podium. In general, however, they continue to support blind arches or arched corbel-tables, precisely as they had supported the second order of the blind niches at S. Vincenzo.

In the ninth decade of the XI century an important innovation was introduced. The pilaster strip was supplanted by an engaged semicircular shaft. The earliest example of such shafts that I know is to be found in the Badia di Vertemate, a monument which was begun in 1083 and consecrated in 1095. In the baptistery of Lenno, built c. 1085, shafts alternate with pilaster strips (Plate 102, Fig. 2). In the neighbouring church of S. Stefano, erected about five years before, there are only

pilaster strips. At Fontanella al Monte, an authentically dated monument of 1080-1090, there are shafts supporting arched corbel-tables (Plate 93, Fig. 1).

After shafts had once been introduced it was an easy step to engage the shaft upon a pilaster strip. The earliest extant example of this motive is to be found in the apse of S. Benedetto di Lenno, an authentically dated monument of 1083 (Plate 102, Fig. 5). The shafts here terminate in cubic capitals. From this time onward shafts, or shafts engaged on pilaster strips, came to be regularly employed with arched corbel-tables except in angles, on corners, or in buttress-like positions. Elsewhere simple pilaster strips were rarely used.[1]

It was a common mannerism, especially in the Monferrato, to supply pilaster strips with capitals and bases. This feature is found at Priocca (c. 1115), at Cortazzone d'Asti—c. 1150—(Plate 82, Fig. 4) and elsewhere. Shafts were often made octagonal instead of circular in section as at the cathedral of Parma, or in the façade of S. Lanfranco of Pavia—c. 1136—(Plate 168, Fig. 3). At S. Sepolcro of Bologna (c. 1160) the exterior pilaster strips folded around the angles of the building are supplanted by shafts in the upper portion of the structure. In the baptistery of Serravalle (c. 1145) there are, in the interior, pilasters and engaged half columns, the former recalling the pilaster responds at Sasso (c. 1050).

[1] Examples of pilaster strips occur, however, at Monastero di Provaglio (1083), S. Giacomo of Como (c. 1105), Mergozzo—c. 1130—(Plate 113, Fig. 3), Verona cathedral (c. 1135), Ganaceto—c. 1200—(Plate 99, Fig. 3), etc.

Shafts, or shafts engaged on pilaster strips, may be found at Oggiono—c. 1085—(Plate 159, Fig. 4), Monastero di Capo di Ponte (c. 1090), S. Abondio of Como—1095—(Plate 58, Fig. 2), S. Eufemia of Isola Comacina (c. 1095), S. Benedetto di Portesana (1099), Rivolta d'Adda—c. 1099—(Plate 193), S. Fedele of Como (c. 1115), Castell'Arquato (1117-1122), Maderno—c. 1120—(Plate 112, Fig. 1), S. Giulia of Bonate (1129), Mergozzo—c. 1130—(Plate 113, Fig. 3), S. Zaccaria—c. 1120, c. 1140—(Plate 205, Fig. 3), Montafia—c. 1150—(Plate 147, Fig. 3), Castell'Alfero (c. 1155), S. Pancrazio of Corneto—c. 1160—(Plate 78), etc.

CHAPTER VII. MULTIPLE ORDERS

Before the year 1000 there is, I believe, extant only one example of a doubled order, and that is the often cited cornice of S. Vincenzo at Milan—c. 830—(Plate 137, Fig. 4). Everywhere else single orders continued to be the invariable rule. Even at S. Vincenzo of Galliano, in 1007, we find the archivolts of a massive and simple section. The earliest instance I know of the real use of doubled orders occurs at Lomello (c. 1025). Here both the clearstory windows (Plate 107) and the archivolts of the nave are in two orders (Plate 108). In the archivolts, moreover, the second order is given a slightly higher curve than the lower inaugurating thus a feature which was destined to survive for many centuries, and finally to become a notable characteristic of the Italian Gothic and early Renaissance styles.[1] From this time onward the archivolts both of windows and arches were frequently in two orders.[2] At Lomello the transverse arches are also in two orders (Plate 107).[3] The second order appears but little later in arches opening into apses, absidioles and niches. It is thus found, for example, at Biella (c. 1040), at Sasso (c. 1050), at S. Abondio of Como (c. 1095), at S. Maria del Solario of Brescia—c. 1130—(Plate 32, Fig. 3). Thus there was a constant tendency towards greater richness and

[1] Among Romanesque monuments it is found at Viguzzolo (c. 1050), Oggiono—c. 1085—(Plate 159, Fig. 4), S. Savino of Piacenza—1107—(Plate 185), Pieve Trebbio (1108), Monte S. Martino (c. 1120), Cortazzone d'Asti (c. 1150), etc.

[2] Examples at Biella (c. 1040), S. Pietro di Civate (c. 1045), Lodi Vecchio (c. 1050), Viguzzolo—c. 1050—(Plate 241, Fig. 2), Varallo Pombia (c. 1070), Modena—1099-1184—(Plate 140, Fig. 2), Nonantola (1121 f.), Rubbiano (c. 1130), Parma cathedral—c. 1130-1150—(Plate 166, Fig. 1), Chiaravalle della Colomba—c. 1145—(Plate 53, Fig. 2), Morimondo—1186—(Plate 154, Fig. 2, 3), etc.

[3] Transverse arches in two orders are common in later times, being found, for example, at S. Maria del Popolo of Pavia (c. 1130), Cerreto—c. 1140—(Plate 52, Fig. 3), Chiaravalle della Colomba (c. 1145), Aversa (1134-1160), Rivalta Scrivia—1180—(Plate 192, Fig. 3), Morimondo—1186—(Plate 154, Fig. 2, 3).

complication in the profiles of archivolts of all kinds.[4] When double orders had once been introduced, it was an easy step to advance to triple or quadruple orders. The plain stepping was further enriched by the addition of mouldings. Thus, in the Chiesa Rossa of Milan (1139) the windows of the apse are in three moulded orders. In other windows of the same church engaged colonnettes of brick without capitals or bases are introduced. At Castelletto d'Orba (c. 1130) the window is in four orders, moulded. At Casorso (c. 1180) the windows are in six orders, shafted and moulded. The apse arch of Panico (c. 1145) is moulded, and rectilinear mouldings are introduced into the archivolts of Ganaceto (c. 1200).

I do not believe that it is possible to determine the date of an edifice of the XII century merely by the relative complication of the profiles. From the time of S. Michele of Pavia—c. 1100—(Plate 174, Fig. 3) the utmost possibilities of this type of decoration seem to have been realized. When simpler profiles were preferred, it was probably for reasons of economy, or in order to give the building an appearance of greater dignity and repose. In this connection the important part which colour decoration played in the æsthetic effect of the Lombard building must never be forgotten. Many of the profiles which to-day seem somewhat heavy and cumbersome, were undoubtedly originally relieved by the presence of painted ornament.

[4] Occasionally, however, archivolts of a single order persisted, even in later times, as at S. Giovanni in Fonte of Verona—1123—(Plate 218, Fig. 2), Villanova—1167—(Plate 241, Fig. 4), etc.

CHAPTER VIII. PORTALS

The portal is justly one of the most widely known and most frequently reproduced portions of the Lombard church. The evolution of the rich doorways so familiar at S. Ambrogio of Milan and at S. Michele of Pavia (Plate 173, Fig. 1; Plate 174, Fig. 3) is somewhat difficult to trace in detail, although the general course of development is clear enough. To the simple, primitive openings of early churches were first applied the multiple orders, the genesis of which we have tried to follow in the preceding chapter. Above the square lintel which in many cases surmounted such doorways was built a relieving arch to take the weight of the superincumbent wall from the architrave. This relieving arch became a characteristic feature of the developed portal. The extra orders were carried around it, and the lintel became merely a subsidiary division.

The next step we may conjecture to have been the introduction of the roll-moulding. This must have appeared at least as early as the third quarter of the XI century, since it is found in the portals of S. Ambrogio at Milan. In this instance the roll-moulding is appropriately and logically supported by a shaft with capital and base.[1] Sometimes, however, the roll-moulding was made continuous, as in the portal of Pallanza (c. 1130). In the cast windows of the cathedral of Piacenza (c. 1150) the roll-moulding was completely undercut. At S. Maria Maggiore of Vercelli (1148) a roll-moulding was applied to the soffit of the portal (Plate 215, Fig. 3), and it was applied to the soffit of the arches in the main arcade of S. Pietro of Asti—c. 1160—(Plate 16, Fig. 4).

The shafts, somewhat ill adjusted to their loads in the portal

[1] Other examples of roll-mouldings at S. Pietro of Bologna (c. 1095), Cemmo—c. 1110—(Plate 51, Fig. 2), S. Michele of Pavia—c. 1100—(Plate 173, Fig. 1; Plate 174, Fig. 3), Nonantola (1121), etc.

of S. Ambrogio, were improved in the numerous portals of Pavia (Plate 167, Fig. 4; Plate 168, Fig. 3; Plate 169, Fig. 3; Plate 170, Fig. 2, 3; Plate 173, Fig. 1; Plate 174, Fig. 3; Plate 177, Fig. 3). At S. Michele di Castelvetro the shafts are replaced by free-standing colonnettes (Plate 199, Fig. 2). At Roncoscaglia (c. 1200) there are also free-standing colonnettes. In the baptistery of Cremona (1167) and numerous later buildings the shafts are spiral-fluted.

The tradition of mouldings had doubtless been inherited from the Byzantine builders, and in the case of bases and capitals probably always continued to be known in northern Italy. Until the end of the XII century, however, such mouldings were cut as little as possible and in a very crude manner. At SS. Naborre e Felice of Bologna, for example (c. 1020), we find the moulding incised in the surface of the shafts in an almost childish fashion. The application of mouldings to archivolts—and especially to portals—appears to have been the inspiration of Lanfranco. In the cathedral of Modena, and in those portions of it built between 1099 and 1166, we find archivolts carved with fine mouldings of subtle section (Plate 141, Fig. 1). The motive, once discovered, spread quickly. There are richly moulded windows at S. Michele of Pavia (c. 1100), and moulded windows in four orders in those portions of the cathedral of Cremona built between 1107 and 1117. In later buildings we frequently meet with mouldings of ever increasing complication.[2] Archivolts with projecting mouldings occur in

[2] The portal of S. Vitale delle Carpinete (c. 1110) is in four orders, finely moulded and shafted. S. Andrea of Carpineti (1117) has a moulded portal. In the southern portal of Castell'Arquato (1117-1122) there are elaborate and complicated mouldings. There is a moulded window at S. Zaccaria—c. 1120—(Plate 205, Fig. 3). The windows are moulded at S. Maria del Solario of Brescia (c. 1130). The further development of mouldings may be studied in the cathedral of Parma (c. 1130-1150), at S. Pietro in Ciel d'Oro of Pavia (1132), at S. Teodoro of the same city—c. 1135—(Plate 180, Fig. 7), in the portal of SS. Gervasio e Protasio of Baveno, at S. Maria Maggiore of Bergamo—1137—(Plate 22, Fig. 6, 7), at Cerreto (c. 1140), at Chiaravalle della Colomba (c. 1145), at S. Maria Maggiore of Vercelli—1148—(Plate 215, Fig. 3), at Casale (1107, c. 1150), in the portal of SS. Felice e Fortunato of Vicenza (1154), at S. Lazaro of Pavia—1157—(Plate 169, Fig. 2; Plate 170, Fig. 1), at Villanova—1167—(Plate 241, Fig. 3, 4), in the portal of Castelnuovo Scrivia—1183—(Plate 50, Fig. 4), in the portal of Monteveglio (1185), in the portal of Varese—1187—(Plate 214, Fig. 1) and at Montechiarugolo—c. 1200—(Plate 148, Fig. 1).

Piemonte, notably at Cavagnolo—c. 1140—(Plate 51, Fig. 5) and Montiglio—c. 1150—(Plate 153, Fig. 1). They are found even as far south as Monteveglio (1185).

Thus, during the XII century, mouldings became not only constantly more elaborate, but more refined. It was natural that the new spirit should find its way also into the abaci and bases of capitals. As early as 1129, at S. Giulia of Bonate, the abaci and bases are carved with fine mouldings evidently inspired by Lanfranco's portals.

The multiple orders and roll-mouldings of portals were probably first covered with carved ornamentation in the last quarter of the XI century. The earliest extant examples are at S. Ambrogio and S. Nazaro—c. 1075-c. 1093—(Plate 128, Fig. 2) of Milan. At S. Michele of Pavia (c. 1100) the motive is developed in all its barbaric splendour (Plate 173, Fig. 1; Plate 174, Fig. 3). It was after that repeated in numerous churches of Pavia (Plate 167, Fig. 4; Plate 170, Fig. 3; Plate 179, Fig. 5). But at S. Pietro in Ciel d'Oro, a monument consecrated in 1132, the spirit of this carving has undergone a change (Plate 177, Fig. 1). It is more restrained and refined. The relief is confined more strictly to two planes. There is less ornamentation. From this time onward the taste of the XII century becoming ever less barbaric, more subtle, turned away from this exuberant type of ornamentation, and finally substituted for the entrance-way of the XI century a more simple and monumental, if less pictorial, type of portal. The foundations for this new style were laid by Lanfranco in the portals of Modena, and by Nicolò at Piacenza (Plate 181, Fig. 1). Even when deprived of their culminating beauty, the Lombard porch, these portals are at once rich and yet characterized by a certain restraint and largeness lacking in the more primitive type. The new portal was carried to its highest development by Benedetto at Borgo S. Donnino (Plate 27, Fig. 3), where the central entrance-way deserves to rank among the greatest achievements of mediæval art. This splendid doorway is the direct descendant of the portals of S. Simpliciano of Milan and S. Antonino of Piacenza, both, as it happens, dated monuments of 1171. It also

bears close relationship to the southern portal of S. Maria Maggiore of Bergamo.

It is rather curious that the motive of jamb sculptures introduced by Guglielmo da Modena at Cremona (Plate 83, Fig. 8) and developed by his follower, Nicolò, at Ferrara (Plate 89, Fig. 1, 4) and Verona (Plate 217, Fig. 1, 3, 5) was abandoned by Benedetto and the later artists of the XII century in Lombardy, although it was destined to inspire the builders of northern France in some of their most splendid achievements.

Very few examples of the actual doors of Lombard churches have come down to us. The bronze doors of S. Zeno will be studied in another connection. Bronze doors were, however, doubtless exceptional, and it is probable that the great majority of churches had wooden doors. There is extant, to the extent of my knowledge, only one example of such doors, those preserved in the Museo d'Antichità at Parma. They come from the church of S. Bertoldo, and are ornamented with rich carvings.

CHAPTER IX. OTHER ORNAMENTS

Certainly one of the most familiar, and probably one of the most characteristic, of Lombard ornaments consists of the plates inserted in façades. I must leave it to scholars more versed than myself in the history of pottery to discover whether these plaques were manufactured in Lombardy, or whether they were imported from abroad. The facts that the character of the design is strongly Saracenic and that they seem to be real plates not merely plaques expressly made as architectural ornaments, lead me to suspect that they may have been imported from some Moorish country. The study of the question is, however, difficult, owing to the circumstance that but very few of the original plates are still extant. In the great majority of cases we know that they were present only because of the holes in the masonry, which have frequently been filled with modern pottery.

The earliest example of inlaid plates that I can cite is the well known façade of S. Michele of Pavia, erected c. 1100. At Castelletto d'Orba, c. 1130, there is extant an ancient plate which is now used as a holy-water basin, and may hence be studied at closer range than is generally the case with plates still in their original position. In the side gables or transept façades of S. Maria del Popolo, Pavia, pottery plaques are inlaid; this is the only instance I know where this ornament is applied except in the west façade. The effect of the decoration may be judged in the restored façade of S. Pietro in Ciel d'Oro (1132). The best preserved plaques in Lombardy are perhaps those of S. Lanfranco of Pavia—c. 1136—(Plate 168, Fig. 3). Those of S. Lazaro—1157—(Plate 170, Fig. 1) also deserve mention. The ornament was used outside of Pavia, although never as freely. Inlaid plaques are extant at Porcile (1143) and in the narthex of Casale (c. 1150).

Less interesting, but more constantly used, is the saw-tooth moulding, a favourite motive in Lombard cornices and almost as indispensable an adjunct of the Italian Romanesque church as the arched corbel-table itself. The earliest example of the saw tooth that I know occurs in the cathedral of Acqui, an authentically dated monument c. 1015-1067 (Plate 2, Fig. 5; Plate 3, Fig. 1). The ornament is extremely simple in character, consisting merely of a course of bricks with the angles placed diagonally outwards. It continued in use throughout the XI and XII centuries.[1]

Possibly related to the saw tooth is the zigzag in open-work which is found not infrequently in Lombard buildings especially of the XI century. The motive has a Carlovingian appearance, but I know of no facts which would serve to establish its origin. The earliest example which has come to my notice is in the apse of the cathedral of Acqui, a building which was consecrated in 1067 (Plate 2, Fig. 5; Plate 3, Fig. 1). It subsequently occurs in the campanile of Pomposa and in two Cluniac churches—Cosio (1078) and Fontanella al Monte—1080-1090—(Plate 93, Fig. 1). It is also found at S. Michele of Nonantola—1101—(Plate 156, Fig. 1), and at the Duomo Vecchio of Brescia—c. 1105—(Plate 31, Fig. 7). The latest examples of the ornament with which I am acquainted occur in the cathedrals of Parma (c. 1130-1150) and Cremona (1129-1141), the latter executed in polychrome.

The diamond pattern was used chiefly in the XII century. The only example of the XI century with which I am acquainted is inlaid on the archivolts of Varallo Pombia, a monument which dates from c. 1070. In the XII century we find it chipped upon the abaci at Rocca S. Maria c. 1140. Ten years later it occurs at S. Lorenzo of Montiglio and at S. Michele di Castelvetro.

[1] Examples of saw-tooth mouldings may be found at Stradella—c. 1035—(Plate 211, Fig. 1), S. Benedetto di Lenno—1083—(Plate 102, Fig. 4), Oggiono—c. 1085—(Plate 159, Fig. 4), S. Giovanni in Fonte of Verona (1123), S. Benedetto of S. Pietro di Civate (c. 1045), S. Abondio of Como (1095), the Duomo Vecchio of Brescia—c. 1105—(Plate 31, Fig. 7), Vaprio d'Adda—c. 1115—(Plate 212, Fig. 4, 5), S. Babila of Milan (c. 1120), S. Giorgio of Almenno—c. 1120—(Plate 11, Fig. 7), S. Maria del Popolo of Pavia (c. 1130), S. Lazaro of Pavia—1157—(Plate 169, Fig. 3, 4; Plate 170, Fig. 1), Villanova—1167—(Plate 241, Fig. 3), Casorso (c. 1180), Vezzolano—1189—(Plate 236, Fig. 1, 4), Gazzo Veronese (c. 1190), Lodi (c. 1190).

At Fontanella inverted and unmeaning letters are scratched as ornaments. This same motive is found in the mosaic of Ivrea (Plate 101, Fig. 6), as well as in other mosaics and sculptures.

Before leaving the subject of Lombard ornament in the XI century a word should be said upon a habit of design common, I believe, throughout the Middle Ages. Columns were freely placed upon axis when convenience or necessity dictated. In fact the architects do not seem to have felt that such a construction was awkward. There is a column on axis in the western interior narthex of S. Lorenzo of Verona. There are pilaster strips on axis at Montemagno (Plate 152, Fig. 7) and Crescenzago. Many other instances might be cited.

Book III. Ornament in the XII Century

CHAPTER I. EARLIER TYPES OF CAPITALS

It has been seen in a previous chapter[1] that in the cathedral of Modena the Corinthian capital was brought to a high degree of perfection. At S. Zeno of Verona (1138) and Rocca S. Maria (c. 1140) we find capitals sculptured with equal skill. It was only rarely, however, that the XII century produced accessory ornament of such technical perfection.

Even in the cathedral of Modena certain Corinthianesque capitals departed widely from the classical norm. Among these deserve especial mention those with widely projecting acanthus leaves, here first tried in the crypt and Lombard porches by Guglielmo, and later reproduced at Cremona and Nonantola (Plate 155, Fig. 5). Many other variants of the Corinthian type were later introduced. At Cemmo c. 1110 the acanthus leaves of ancient capitals were recarved. The Corinthian capitals of S. Fedele of Como (c. 1115) are crude when executed in granite (Plate 63, Fig. 6), of better quality when executed in soft stone (Plate 63, Fig. 7; Plate 64, Fig. 3). Notwithstanding strong classical influence, the capitals of the ambo of Isola S. Giulio have a peculiar adamantine quality (Plate 100, Fig. 8). The Corinthianesque capitals of the cathedral of Parma (c. 1130-1150) show Milanese influence. At S. Giorgio of Almenno (c. 1120) the Corinthian capitals have a single row of uncarved leaves and in some cases volutes of a handle-like quality.[2] At S. Vittore of Arsago (c. 1120) are Corinthianesque capitals which are of a type common in southern Italy, and notably at La Scala

[1] See above, p. 213.

[2] These capitals should be compared with those of the crypt of the cathedral of Ivrea, and those of the crypt of S. Vincenzo at St.-Vincent (Torino).

(Salerno). The acanthus leaves in the capitals at S. Maria Maggiore of Bergamo have a peculiarly feathery quality (Plate 22, Fig. 6). At Casale the capitals are of a very classic type derived perhaps from Provence. Many are still unfinished. Those of S. Maria Maggiore of Vercelli (1148) are of similar character (Plate 215, Fig. 3), while those of Montiglio show a mixture of Lombard and Provençal forms. Corinthian capitals with uncarved leaves are of frequent occurrence as, for example, at Castell'Alfero, Staffarda, Vezzolano and the baptistery of Parma. At Castelnuovo Scrivia (1183) is a Corinthianesque capital with a single row of acanthus leaves stiffly carved with flat surfaces and deep incisions as in decadent Roman work. Another capital of this same church has a row of anthemia mixed with the acanthus leaves. At Ferrara are Composite capitals. Many other variations were introduced in the Corinthian type which during the XII century remained undoubtedly the most popular capital.[3]

Closely related to the Corinthian capital is the anthemion capital, particularly characteristic of the local school of the province of Modena. The earliest example with which I am acquainted is to be found in the church of S. Giulia of Monchio which dates from c. 1100. Other examples exist at Roffeno (1104), S. Vitale delle Carpinete (c. 1110), and Rubbiano (c. 1130). Only once so far as I know is this type of capital found in the North, and that is in the cloister of S. Orso of Aosta (Plate 14, Fig. 2).

Side by side with Roman tradition as witnessed by the Corinthian capital there existed the Byzantine tradition which found expression in numerous capitals clearly derived from such buildings as those erected at Ravenna in the V and VI centuries. Such are found in the crypt of the cathedral of Modena (1099-1106). Byzantine influence is probably accountable for the whirled acanthus leaves of the cylindrical piers of S. Eustorgio of Milan. Byzantine influence combines with the Corinthian-

[3] For examples see S. Maria del Tiglio of Gravedona, Almenno S. Salvatore (Plate 11, Fig. 2), S. Trinità of S. Stefano of Bologna, Rivalta Scrivia (Plate 192, Fig. 3), etc.

esque type of capital at S. Giulia of Bonate and at S. Trinità of S. Stefano of Bologna. Capitals of Byzantine basket type rather unhappily exaggerated were executed at Villanova (1167). C. 1180 whirled leaves are found in the capitals of Lodi. Certain capitals in the baptistery of Parma (1196-1214) are strongly Byzantinesque in character.

We have already seen[4] that the true Lombard capital soon lost its popularity in the XII century. New and modified types, however, quickly arose. As early as 1108 were executed capitals like those of Pieve Trebbio (Plate 187, Fig. 4, 5) which depart completely from any types known in the XI century. Other modifications of Lombard capitals are to be found at Corneto Tarquinia, near Rome, where Lombard types, although modified by local influences, continued to exist after they had ceased to be used in the North (Plate 76, Fig. 3, 5; Plate 77, Fig. 1, 3, 4, 5, 6; Plate 81, Fig. 1). Curiously coarse are the capitals of Castell'Arquato (1117-1122). Those of Gallarate (c. 1145), which are not more refined, appear to have been influenced by S. Giorgio in Palazzo. The capitals of S. Ilario di Baganza (c. 1140) show the influence of the cathedral of Parma. Entirely *sui generis* is the capital of c. 1145 at Panico with a row of uncarved acanthus leaves, and winged grotesques in the angles (Plate 162, Fig. 4).

In the narthex of Casale (c. 1150) and in the west gallery of the cloister at Vezzolano the abaci are given the section of the loads.

The earliest example I know of a capital continued as a string-course is to be found at S. Stefano of Pavia c. 1120. The motive reoccurs in the side (c. 1135) and central (1184-1196) portals at Borgo S. Donnino. It is also found in the southern portal at S. Maria Maggiore of Bergamo (Plate 23, Fig. 4), in the southern porch of Castell'Arquato (c. 1185), at S. Simpliciano of Milan (1171), and at Berceto (c. 1200).

Sculptured capitals continued to be used throughout the XII century. Those of Castell'Arquato (1117-1122) are extremely crude (Plate 48, Fig. 4), but those of S. Salvatore

[4] See above, p. 215.

of Brescia (c. 1160) are among the finest extant examples of Lombard decorative art (Plate 36, Fig. 4, 6, 7, 8).

Wreathed capitals, which may be considered a modification of the cubic type, are found at Fontanella al Monte (Plate 92), at S. Giorgio of Almenno, and at S. Maria Maggiore of Bergamo. They seem to be characteristic of the local school of the province of Brescia.

Circular abaci are found at S. Eustorgio of Milan (c. 1120), at Mont'Orfano (c. 1145), in the portal of SS. Felice e Fortunato of Vicenza (1154), at Castell'Alfero (c. 1155), and at Ferrara (1177).[5] In the portal of SS. Felice e Fortunato of Vicenza and in the cathedral of Piacenza the bases are also circular. At Ferrara (1177) are lathe-like capitals very similar to certain ones of the Gothic period in England.

[5] For the circular abaci in the piers of Cistercian edifices, see above, p. 91.

CHAPTER II. CAPITALS TRANSITIONAL TO GOTHIC

The infiltration of French influences into northern Italy, and the gradual triumph of the foreign Gothic over the native Romanesque, can nowhere be studied to better advantage than in the development of the capital. It is, nevertheless, not altogether easy to say at just what moment Gothic influence first made itself felt in Lombardy. The truth is, that the architectures of France and Italy had, for long centuries, been so closely related to each other, and had been bound together by so many currents of influence and counter-influence, that it is not always easy to say which originated and which followed.

The broad-leaved capital is undoubtedly derived from a Corinthian capital of which the acanthus leaves were left uncarved. Such unfinished Corinthian capitals had been common at all times since antiquity, and in at least some cases the builders had probably purposely left them unfinished, preferring the greater quiet and restfulness of the unpetalled leaves. This had notably been the case very frequently in Lombardy. It may very likely have been from Lombardy that the builders of northern France derived their earliest broad-leaved capitals, which are rather crude and clumsy affairs. It was only towards the fourth decade of the XII century that the masters of the royal domain, inspired, it is said, by the natural forms of water-plants, commenced to develop the broad-leaved capital in a new spirit, and to lend it that surpassing beauty which makes it at once the most dignified, and the most graceful of all supporting members.

The earliest broad-leaved capitals in Italy are probably independent of French influence. Those of S. Fedele of Como, for example—c. 1115—(Plate 63, Fig. 1), are formed

merely of uncarved acanthus leaves. In certain capitals of Castell'Arquato, however, there appears to be indubitable Gothic influence; this is surprising because the monument in question is an authentically dated structure of 1117-1122. We have, therefore, Gothic influence permeating a remote corner of northern Italy before it had become predominant even in France, unless it be, as is perhaps more probable, that the apparent resemblances between the capitals of Castell'Arquato and those of the North are due to coincidence.

However this may be, there is no room for doubt that there is genuine French influence found in certain broad-leaved capitals of those portions of the cathedral of Cremona which were erected between 1129-1141. The same influence is observable in similar capitals of Fontanella and possibly in one of S. Maria del Popolo of Pavia (Plate 171, Fig. 4), both monuments which date from c. 1130. Also distinctively French are certain broad-leaved capitals of S. Maria Maggiore of Bergamo dating from 1137.

A new stage in the progress of French influence is marked by the church of Cavagnolo erected c. 1140 and situated in Piemonte not far from the passes leading over the Alps. The structure of this church, as has already been observed, shows the influence of southern France, probably Provence, but the capitals are distinctly northern. One with broad, flat leaves and crudely executed volutes would seem to have been inspired by the Norman style (Plate 51, Fig. 5); another has Gothic crockets which undoubtedly show the direct influence of the Ile-de-France.

From this moment the indications of French influence are multiplied. At Cerreto are broad-leaved capitals of purely French transitional type dating from c. 1140, while the even more Gothic capitals of the cathedral of Piacenza must be about contemporary. French are the capitals of Gallarate (c. 1145) and one in the crypt of S. Carpoforo of Como dating from about the same time (Plate 60, Fig. 3). In the narthex of Casale (c. 1150) we find a bulbous and perfectly crocketed capital. Crockets appear also in a capital of Montiglio dating from c. 1150. The broad-leaved capitals of S. Lazaro of Pavia are authentically dated 1157 (Plate 170, Fig. 2). Other broad-

leaved capitals of unmistakably French type may be found at Denzano (c. 1160) and S. Bernardo of Vercelli (1164). French influence is even visible in the capital of S. Maria Canale of Tortona, dating from c. 1165 (Plate 211, Fig. 6). At S. Antonino of Piacenza crockets nestle among the Lombard acanthus leaves (1171).

In the last quarter of the XII century the French influence became continually stronger and more unmistakable. We find it in the broad-leaved capitals of Ferrara (1177), in the crockets of the capitals of Lodi (1180), and in numerous capitals of the cloister of S. Stefano (c. 1180). The broad-leaved capitals of Morimondo of 1186 might possibly be explained as developments of Lombard prototypes, but the crocketed capitals of Varese, authentically dated 1187, are indubitably of French origin (Plate 214, Fig. 4). They are the earliest example of a peculiar type of crocket which became extremely popular in the last decade of the XII century, especially in Piemonte, as, for example, at Ranverso and Sagra S. Michele.

The capitals of Vezzolano, authentically dated 1189, show all the variations from pure Lombard to pure Gothic (Plate 236, Fig. 1, 4; Plate 237, Fig. 1, 2; Plate 238, Fig. 1), and are evidently the work of a Lombard master who had studied in the Ile-de-France.

The capitals of Brebbia (c. 1190) and of the contemporary portions of the cathedral of Lodi are entirely French, as are the earlier capitals of S. Ruffillo di Bologna—c. 1180—(Plate 204, Fig. 1) and Rivalta Scrivia—1180—(Plate 192, Fig. 3). At Voltorre—c. 1180-1190—(Plate 244, Fig. 2, 3, 5, 6) the capitals are almost entirely Lombard in character. There is a mixture of the two elements at Chiaravalle della Colomba (c. 1180-1200). Gothic influence is visible at Castelnuovo Scrivia (1183) in the restored capital of the portal (Plate 50, Fig. 4) and in the twin shafts (Plate 50, Fig. 7) which resemble those of Ste.-Croix of Quimperlé (Plate 50, Fig. 3). The capitals of c. 1185 at S. Eustorgio of Milan show French influence in the broad, flat leaves, the crockets, the elaborate mouldings and other distinctly

Gothic motives. The broad-leaved capitals of S. Lorenzo of Cremona date from c. 1195.

I can detect no trace of French influence in those capitals of the baptistery of Parma which were executed between 1196 and 1214, but in the contemporary portals of Chiaravalle (1196-1221) and Cerreto (c. 1200), the capitals are completely of French Gothic type. At Fornovo (c. 1200) are capitals with naturalistic Gothic crockets, and others with uncarved acanthus leaves almost Norman in character. A capital of Vicofertile (c. 1200) has Gothic crockets. The capitals of the cloister of Montechiarugolo (c. 1200) are generally Gothic (Plate 148, Fig. 1).

It appears, therefore, that in northern Italy the capitals show traces of the influence of the Ile-de-France as early as the third decade of the XII century, and that this influence became steadily stronger, although it never succeeded in entirely supplanting the native Lombard forms.

Only rarely do capitals show the influence of Provençal models, except indirectly in the closer imitation of the antique, as in certain capitals formed of classical mouldings crowning the exterior pilaster strips at Gazzo Veronese (c. 1190).

CHAPTER III. FOREIGN MOTIVES OF DECORATION

It has already been observed that the influence of Provence upon the architecture of northern Italy is to be noticed chiefly in the revived taste for classical motives of decoration. This influence began to appear at an earlier date than that at which it is possible to trace imitation of the art of the Ile-de-France. In the ambo of Isola S. Giulio, a monument which dates from c. 1120, and is in most respects thoroughly Lombard, the exuberance of the classical ornament portrays the influence of the Provençal school. At Nonantola in 1121 we find the heart-leaf motive in a peculiarly Provençal form. The dentils used so excessively in the necking of the columns, in the apse (Plate 50, Fig. 2), and in the façade of Cascina S. Trinità (c. 1130) are undoubtedly of the same origin. At S. Maria Maggiore of Vercelli in 1148 we find again the heart-leaf ornament; in this case it is associated with the egg and dart which is repeated c. 1150 at Montiglio (Plate 153, Fig. 4). At Montiglio was also used the bead-moulding. The latter found its way as far south as S. Michele di Castelvetro (c. 1150). The horizontal line so characteristic of Provençal architecture is imitated in Benedetto's baptistery at Serravalle, built c. 1175 (Plate 206, Fig. 1), and in the same building the cornice is broken around the pilasters and half columns in quite the classical manner. The influence of Provençal design may similarly be traced in the string-course of the Chiesa Rossa of Voghera—c. 1185—(Plate 242, Fig. 1) and in the façade of Vezzolano (Plate 235, Fig. 1). It appears also in the string-course resembling a pilaster strip set horizontally of S. Ruffillo di Bologna—1178—(Plate 204, Fig. 2) and in the entire exterior design of the baptistery of Parma

(Plate 163, Fig. 1). At Borgo S. Donnino (1184-1196) there is a fret completely Provençal in character (compare Plate 30, Fig. 1, 2, with Plate 27, Fig. 2) as well as other motives such as the egg and dart and the bead-moulding which are patently of the same derivation. At Borgo, however, we find also influence of the Ile-de-France in the voussoir sculptures of the central portal. (Compare this portal—Plate 27, Fig. 3—with the portals at St.-Denis—Plate 27, Fig. 4—and Chartres—Plate 27, Fig. 1).

The influence of the Ile-de-France makes itself felt only at a comparatively late epoch. It is true that there are star-flowers at Castell'Arquato, an authentically dated monument of 1117-1122, but like the Gothic capitals of the same edifice, the appearance of this motive at so early a date is entirely unparalleled. At Gallarate Gothic influence is unmistakably present c. 1145 in the flattened upper scotia of the base moulding. Gothic influence is similarly evident at S. Sepolcro of Bologna (c. 1160) in the mouldings of the portal and the undercut bases.[1] The base moulding of the baptistery at Varese (1187) has a distinctly Gothic profile (Plate 214, Fig. 4). The profiles of the jubé of Vezzolano (1189) are thoroughly French (Plate 237, Fig. 1; Plate 238, Fig. 1). At Montechiarugolo (c. 1200) the pyramid flower blossoms in all its Gothic luxuriance (Plate 148, Fig. 1), and the bases of the colonnettes are likewise thoroughly Gothic. At Roncoscaglia (c. 1200) is a clumsy hood-moulding.

However, the most important of all the northern French motives introduced into Lombard decoration was the billet. This is found perhaps for the first time in the cathedral of Parma (c. 1130-1150), but was soon repeated on the archivolts of Cavagnolo (c. 1140), where it is found in the triple form (Plate 51, Fig. 5). It subsequently became very popular in Piemonte. At Montafia (c. 1150) there is a quadruple billet cornice (Plate 147, Fig. 3). There are triple and quadruple billets at Montiglio (Plate 153, Fig. 1) and billets single, double and multiple at Cortazzone d'Asti (Plate 82, Fig. 4), both

[1] Compare the cornice of triangular arched corbel-tables of this edifice with that of the chapel of the Templars at Laon (Plate 204, Fig. 4).

edifices which date from c. 1150. The ornament is also found at Viboldone (c. 1195), in the cathedral of Modena and at S. Lorenzo (c. 1195), and S. Michele—c. 1200—(Plate 86, Fig. 1) of Cremona. In the two latter instances the billets are round.

CHAPTER IV. OTHER MOTIVES OF DECORATION

There remain several motives of decoration developed in Lombardy during the XII century which merit at least passing notice. Conspicuous among these are the twisted and spiral-fluted columns frequently associated with Lombard portals. The idea of spiral columns, although not a particularly happy one from an architectural standpoint, has been popular with decorators ever since antiquity. It is found in numerous Roman monuments of the decadence; from them it was copied by the Cosmati artists of the XII century in Rome and by the barocco architects of the XVI century. There can be little doubt that the Lombard builders derived it from the same source. The earliest example of its use is in the cathedral of Modena (1099-1106). It is well established that Lanfranco had at his disposal a vast amount of material dug from the ruins of the ancient Roman city of Modena, and that he used this material not only to employ bodily in the new cathedral, but also as a source of inspiration for numerous details of his design. It was undoubtedly in this way that spiral-fluted columns were introduced into Lombard art.

Nicolò, ever ready to continue and develop the new traditions created at Modena, introduced spiral columns into several of his best known works—in the Porta dello Zodiaco at Sagra S. Michele (Plate 196A, Fig. 2), and in the portals of the cathedrals of Ferrara (Plate 88, Fig. 2) and Verona (Plate 217, Fig. 1, 3). From this time onward they became typical of the Lombard manner, and were reproduced in the portals of SS. Felice e Fortunato of Vicenza (1154), at S. Simpliciano of Milan (1171), at S. Maria Maggiore of Bergamo (Plate 23, Fig. 4), at Borgo S. Donnino (Plate 27, Fig. 3), and in many other edifices.

Another typical Lombard mannerism was the habit of inlaying sculptures at irregular intervals in the façade. This method of building doubtless originated in the habit of mixing stone and brick somewhat irregularly in the masonry. It was then determined to ornament the stone blocks with sculptures. The most splendid and typical example of this type of decoration is the façade of S. Michele of Pavia (Plate 174, Fig. 3). The motive persisted as late as c. 1135 at S. Maria del Tiglio of Gravedona; possibly it inspired the sculptured keystones of Morimondo (1186).

Engaged pediments or false gables appear to have been employed in Lombardy earlier than in France. There is one over the portal of S. Stefano of Verona which dates from c. 1120. Another formerly existed above the portal at S. Maria del Popolo of Pavia, a monument of c. 1130. At S. Pietro in Ciel d'Oro of the same city there is above the portal a false pediment enclosed in an engaged field—1132—(Plate 177, Fig. 3). In the portal of S. Maria Maggiore of Vercelli (1148) there is an engaged gable resting on two colonnettes (Plate 215, Fig. 3). As late as c. 1200 we find an engaged gable over the portal of Cerreto.

Possibly some engaged pediment inspired the singular and, I believe, unparalleled triangular arch of the eastern portal of S. Fedele of Como (c. 1115).

In the last half of the XII century important decorations in stucco were executed in Lombardy. Of these the earliest is the archivolt of the crypt of S. Salvatore of Brescia, which dates from c. 1160, although it has been rather curiously mistaken for a work of Carlovingian epoch (Plate 37, Fig. 1). This is possibly by the hand of the same artist who evidently executed all of the remaining stucco decorations in northern Italy. These are situated at Cividale (Plate 57, Fig. 6; Plate 121, Fig. 4), S. Pietro di Civate (Plate 57, Fig. 1, 2, 4, 5), and S. Ambrogio of Milan (Plate 121, Fig. 2, 3). The ornament itself consists of the repetition of typical Lombard motives, but owing to the quality of the medium acquires a peculiar richness and exuberance.

PART III. ACCESSORY ARTS

Book I. Sculpture

CHAPTER I. SCULPTURE BEFORE 1100

As has already been recognized by Cattaneo, the barbarian invasions resulted in almost completely exterminating the art of figure-sculpture in northern Italy. From the VII to the XI century representations of the human figure in stone worthy to be classed as high art do not exist. The few figure-sculptures of this epoch that are still extant, bear witness to the complete decadence of sculpture. The altar of Ratchis (744-749) at Cividale (Plate 3, Fig. 2) and the baptistery in the same city (Plate 59, Fig. 3), although executed at the flood tide of the Lombard renaissance and admirable from a decorative standpoint, reveal childish incompetence in all that pertains to the representation of the human form. When in the IX and X centuries even decorative sculpture fell into decline, the artists ceased for the most part even to attempt figure-sculptures. When in rare instances they did assay this most difficult of tasks, the result was in the highest degree lamentable—witness the two figures of saints sculptured on capitals of S. Giovanni of Asti in 885.

During these ages truly dark for the art of figure-sculpture in stone, the traditions of a better epoch were doubtless kept alive by plastic works in ivory, and possibly also in metal. The bronze eagle and saint (Plate 122, Fig. 2) of the pulpit of S. Ambrogio of Milan, which date from c. 800, show that the metal smiths, while far from possessing the skill of earlier and later times, had still not fallen as low as the stone sculptors. The inlaid ornaments of the Palio d'Oro of S. Ambrogio, apparently part of the altar erected by Angilberto in 840, give us a high idea of the

skill of the goldsmith and enameller Volvinio (Plate 122, Fig. 3; Plate 123, Fig. 1, 2; Plate 124, Fig. 1, 2).

The year 1000 which ushered in so notable a revival in the art of architecture, witnessed something of an awakening in that of figure-sculpture as well. The first monument[1] of this reawakening of the XI century is the Resurrection Capital (Plate 3, Fig. 5) of the cloister of Acqui (c. 1015-1067). Notwithstanding obvious crudities this work presents not only a definite iconographic purport but a positive feeling for beauty evidenced, for example, by the effective lines of the drapery of the standing figure to the left of Christ. This sculpture marks a notable advance over the figure art of the Lombard period as exemplified by the altar of Ratchis (Plate 3, Fig. 2).

A still more notable step in advance is marked by the bronze doors of S. Zeno at Verona, the earliest portions of which date from c. 1030 (Plate 231, Fig. 1; Plate 232, Fig. 1; Plate 233, Fig. 1; Plate 234, Fig. 1).[2] Not only do these reliefs represent a sustained iconographical narrative, but from the point of view of technique they are vastly superior to any sculptures we have hitherto found in northern Italy. So little is there in existence which would seem in any way to pave the road for these remarkable products of plastic art that critics have almost universally agreed that they must have been inspired by some foreign influence; and this influence it was natural to find in the bronze doors of Hildesheim authentically dated 1015 by an extant and entirely reliable inscription, and showing undoubted analogies of style with the S. Zeno doors. The matter seemed to be clinched by documentary evidence proving that the S. Zeno doors were executed under German influence. Recently, however, this supposed documentary evidence has been demonstrated to be erroneous. While the analogies between S. Zeno and Hildesheim remain, our knowledge of the history of the art of metal sculpture in the XI century is at present too vague and fragmentary to make it safe to assume that S. Zeno was inspired by German

[1] Except possibly the crucifix of the Carroccio of the Duomo at Milan.

[2] For an analysis of the style of these doors showing which panels date from c. 1030 and which from 1138, see Vol. III, pp. 535 f.

influence. The quaint and charming style of the sculptor of the Verona doors offers, for example, almost as many and as close analogies with the bronze sculptures of S. Ambrogio of Milan (Plate 122, Fig. 2), an Italian work of 800, as with the bronze works of Hildesheim. It has already been observed that the Italian metal smiths were far in advance of the sculptors in stone. It may possibly be, therefore, that the resemblances between the sculptures of Hildesheim and S. Zeno are to be explained on the supposition that both are derived from some common prototype now lost, and that that prototype was Italian.

The doors of S. Zeno seem to have been the starting point for a long series of similar doors executed in various parts of Italy,[3] which form undoubtedly one of the best known achievements of Romanesque art in the peninsula. In Lombardy, however, there is extant only one other work of this character—the later portions of the same doors of S. Zeno, executed in 1138.

The second half of the XI century was singularly barren of works of sculpture in northern Italy. The artists in their enthusiasm for the grotesque appear but very seldom to have attempted subjects of iconographic purport. Gradually, however, such came to be introduced among the grotesques. A few are noticeable at S. Ambrogio of Milan; others may be found at S. Pietro of Bologna—c. 1095—(Plate 25, Fig. 3), and many at S. Michele of Pavia—c. 1100—(Plate 173, Fig. 1; Plate 174, Fig. 1, 3; Plate 175, Fig. 1, 4; Plate 176, Fig. 1, 2, 3, 4, 6). These semi-serious sculptures show a striking improvement in technique, which soon results in the formation of an individual manner, strong, virile and powerful if still somewhat crude (Plate 173, Fig. 1; Plate 174, Fig. 1). It is open to doubt whether this art was entirely of native origin, or whether it was influenced from without, either by means of ivory-carvings, or by direct contact with foreign sculptors. Certain iconographical resemblances between the sculptures of S. Michele and those of southern France give some reason to suppose that the Lombard school from its earliest beginnings was under French influence.

[3] See Vol. III, pp. 535 f.

Compare, for example, the detail of S. Michele (Plate 175, Fig. 4) with the similar subject at St.-Gilles (Plate 175, Fig. 3). Nevertheless the Provençal monument is in all probability later than the Lombard, and there is the possibility that the influence may have flowed from Lombardy to France.

CHAPTER II. GUGLIELMO DA MODENA

The dawn of the XII century found three distinct schools of sculpture active in Lombardy. The first and most easily accounted for is the Pavese school, the origins of which we have already traced, and to the further development of which we shall return in a subsequent chapter. The second was the school of Cluny, as we may call it for convenience, which produced notable works at Pontida and Calvenzano, and of which the study must also be deferred. The third and most important was the art founded by Guglielmo da Modena.

There is something mysterious in the appearance of this artist who by the sheer force of his personality and of his genius established in Italy a new style destined to yield so rich a harvest through the following centuries. There is but little to explain Guglielmo. We look in vain among the puerile works of sculpture produced in Lombardy during the XI century for prototypes to his creations. His art bursts upon us in all its vigour and freshness, unaccounted for by those laws of evolution and development which we have come to believe inseparable from artistic attainment.

Since the artistic personality of Guglielmo has recently been strangely confused, it is necessary to distinguish the artist himself from his followers and assistants before discussing the derivation of his art. What is definitely known of him resolves itself into very little. On the cathedral of Modena is a sculptured plaque with a relief of the prophets Enoch and Elijah, and an inscription praising the merits of the sculptor Guglielmo (Plate 142, Fig. 2). It is evident, therefore, that the sculptures of the two prophets are the work of the artist. A comparison of the style of these with that of the other reliefs of the façade confirms the inference naturally drawn from the inscription that the latter are also by

Guglielmo (Plate 142, Fig. 3; Plate 143, Fig. 1; Plate 144, Fig. 1, 2; Plate 145, Fig. 3).

At the cathedral of Cremona are certain sculptures which close analogies make it evident are by the same hand. In the sacristy is a sculpture of Enoch and Elijah supporting an inscription as in the similar relief of Modena; closer resemblances of style, iconography and technique could hardly be desired. There is, moreover, at Cremona a broken caryatid precisely similar to the one supporting the altar in the familiar relief of Modena (Plate 144, Fig. 2), and supplied with a fragment of an inscription evidently the same as that which exists in the Modena relief. Numerous analogies of style (on which it is unnecessary here to insist, since they have been analyzed in detail below)[1] make it evident that the four prophets of the jambs (Plate 83, Fig. 8), the symbols of the Evangelists, the rinceau, and certain vaulting capitals of Cremona are all undoubtedly also works of Guglielmo.

A close study of the style of these sculptures is sufficient to give a clear idea of the artistic personality of the artist. No competent critic could have confounded Guglielmo da Modena as revealed by these works with the other Guglielmo who signed the reliefs to the left of the principal portal of S. Zeno of Verona (Plate 229, Fig. 3, 4; Plate 230, Fig. 1, 3), unless—as has actually happened—he had been misled by a peculiar tangle of supposed documentary evidence.

The sculptor Nicolò (whom we shall study in the next chapter) was a pupil and follower of Guglielmo. He has left signed works at Sagra S. Michele, at the cathedrals of Ferrara and Verona, and at S. Zeno of Verona. At S. Zeno, as we have seen, he worked in company with Guglielmo da Verona. It was long supposed that he worked with Guglielmo also in the cathedral of Ferrara; this misinformation was derived from an inscription incorrectly restored, which, in reality, as is now clearly demonstrated, referred not to Guglielmo the sculptor but to Guglielmo degli Adelardi, a noble who in large part bore the expense of the construction of the cathedral of Ferrara.[2] Misled

[1] See Vol. II, pp. 386 f. [2] See Vol. II, pp. 408 f.

by the supposed documentary evidence, critics felt themselves obliged to find the style of Guglielmo in certain sculptures of Ferrara, although the latter are clearly the work of Nicolò alone. This led to such confusion of the artistic personalities of Guglielmo da Verona and Nicolò and Guglielmo da Modena that the two Guglielmos were identified, and almost all the Romanesque sculptures of northern Italy came to be assigned to one man and his assistant.

Recent studies upon the inscription of Ferrara, and an analysis of the style of the various sculptures in question, clear up all this misunderstanding. It is no longer possible to confuse the artistic personality of Guglielmo da Modena with that of Nicolò or of Guglielmo da Verona.

Basing ourselves upon the authentic works of Guglielmo da Modena, therefore, let us seek the little light that it is possible to obtain upon the origin of his art. It has already been observed that his style bears no relationship to previous works of sculpture in Lombardy, at least in so far as they have come down to us. It is as distinctly and totally different from the semi-grotesque sculptures of S. Ambrogio of Milan or of S. Pietro of Bologna (Plate 25, Fig. 3) as it is from the quaint bronze doors of S. Zeno (Plate 231, Fig. 1; Plate 232, Fig. 1), or the Resurrection Capital (Plate 3, Fig. 5) of Acqui. How, therefore, did this art come into being?

Since there is no indication that it was derived normally from earlier works in Emilia, it is natural to assume that it must have been imported from abroad. Of foreign schools of sculpture there was at this period only one which could have been capable of inspiring such an art as that of Guglielmo, and that was Languedoc. Now it is certain that the influence of Languedoc was persistently exerted upon the sculpture of Lombardy throughout the XII century. In the works of Nicolò, of the sculptor of S. Antonino of Piacenza and of Lodi, and of Benedetto and his school we shall have to observe the continued imitation of southern French models. It moreover happens that certain striking analogies exist between the works of Guglielmo and the earliest products of the school of Languedoc. The habit

of representing the folds of drapery by two parallel incised lines, which we find frequently in the works of Guglielmo—for example, on the sleeve of the figure seen to the extreme right in Plate 142, Fig. 3—is found also in the sculptures of the cloister at Moissac (Plate 142, Fig. 1). Nor does the resemblance stop there. The short proportions, the heavy type of face, the vertical folds of the drapery, the feet shown as it were in plan, and the strongly accentuated cords of the toes are all common to Guglielmo and the master of the Moissac cloister.

The whole question is rendered exceedingly obscure by the fact that the sculptures of southern France have never been subjected to careful study and archæological analysis. When the monuments come to be fully described, and the documentary sources studied as they deserve, we shall doubtless receive a very different impression from that which we now have of this most important of all Romanesque schools of sculpture. As it is, the sculptures of Moissac form almost the only firm and reliable starting-point for comparison. The cloister is authentically dated 1100 by an inscription. The sculptures of which we reproduce an example (Plate 142, Fig. 1) must therefore be of this epoch. It is generally assumed that the sculptures of the porch, although of a totally different style (Plate 94, Fig. 5; Plate 104, Fig. 2), are contemporary. The latter are more typical of the manner usually associated with the name Languedoc and exemplified by the sculptures of Toulouse, Cahors and numerous churches of the Pyrenees and Spain; the former present points of contact with the much later sculptures of Maguelonne. It remains to be demonstrated that the two styles of sculpture at Moissac are in reality contemporary, and if so, to explain how two such radically different manners could have coexisted in the same church. The origin of this surprising art also remains entirely obscure.

Until these matters are investigated it would be in the highest degree dangerous to assert that the art of Guglielmo was derived from the cloister of Moissac. In point of time the two are contemporary; the cloister at Moissac was finished in the year 1100; Guglielmo worked at Modena from 1099 to 1106.

It must moreover be remembered that ivory-carvings frequently exercised a very direct and important influence upon sculpture in the Middle Ages. Indeed, it is probable that artistic ideas were transmitted from one part of Europe to another by ivory-carvings more frequently than by actual travelling undertaken by the sculptor. There are numerous indications that such was the case. In a diptych of the Morgan collection,[3] called a Spanish work of the X century and representing the journey to Emmaus, the figures are shown wearing caps of a curious type which we shall later find to be characteristic of the art of Benedetto. In this carving is also represented a cane of a peculiar form which reappears in the bronze doors of S. Zeno and in the sculptures of the ambo of Isola S. Giulio. It seems entirely probable that both Benedetto and the sculptor of the Isola ambo drew their inspiration from some such ivory-carvings. The Byzantine casket ascribed to the X century, formerly the property of Pope Innocent IV and of the Fieschi family, now also in the Morgan collection,[4] has at the corners figures which bear so close a resemblance to the sculptures of Notre-Dame-du-Port at Clermont-Ferrand that it can not be due to coincidence. The elongated figure of Christ in an ivory crucifixion of the Morgan collection[5] shows close analogy with sculptures of Ile-de-France. A fragment of a reliquary of champlevé Limoges enamel also in the Morgan collection[6] and ascribed to the XIII century, has ivory figures which in style are very like contemporary sculptures in stone. The capital on which stand the souls awaiting judgment in the tomb of S. Alberto (Plate 189, Fig. 2) is strikingly similar to the tree on which stands a figure with a palm in a Byzantine ivory-carving of the same collection.[7] There is, therefore, no doubt of the close interdependence of ivory-carving and sculpture.

Now I observe that the most striking analogy between the manner of Guglielmo and that of the sculptor of the cloister of

[3] From the Guilhon and Hoentschel collections, catalogue of the latter No. 11.
[4] Case G. [5] Case G. [6] Case H.
[7] According to the catalogue this is a Russian (!) work of the IX or X century. The subject is the entry into Jerusalem.

Moissac—that is to say, the use of two parallel incised lines to represent folds in the drapery—is a mannerism which had been common in ivory-carvings from a very early period. It is found, for example, in a converted diptych of the Morgan collection representing St. Peter and St. Paul, apparently a work of the IV century.[8] I note furthermore that in this carving the figures are placed in a niche, a mannerism which forms a striking point of contact between the sculptor of the cloister of Moissac (Plate 142, Fig. 1) and Guglielmo's successor Nicolò (Plate 181, Fig. 1), as well as the master of S. Michele of Pavia (Plate 174, Fig. 1). Two parallel incised lines indicating the folds of the drapery occur on a fragment of Byzantine ivory-carving probably of the VIII or IX century representing Christ in an aureole supported by angels and now in the Morgan collection.[9] The same mannerism is found in another carving of the same collection[10] representing the Deity with His right hand raised in benediction. It is found in still a third carving of the same collection representing Christ in a niche surrounded by the symbols of the four Evangelists.[11] In this case the parallels are used even to form a spiral on the abdomen.

In view of all these examples, and many others which might be cited, it seems evident that the analogies between the manner of Guglielmo and that of the sculptor of the cloister of Moissac are to be explained, at least in large part, as derived from ivory-carvings which must have been frequently in the possession of mediæval monasteries and churches, and were constantly being carried from one part of Europe to another. Whether the art of Guglielmo is derived directly from such ivory-carvings, or whether he had predecessors in stone sculpture there is not sufficient evidence to determine.

In either event, his importance for the history of the development of sculpture in Lombardy is equally great. With Guglielmo for the first time in Italian art we meet an individual genius, an artistic personality emerging from the current of tradition and of uniform progress. Guglielmo marks a distinct breaking with the past. Impatient of architectural restraints, he sought to make

[8] Case L. [9] Case F. [10] Case G. [11] Case L.

of sculpture not an accessory but an independent art. His works are eminently unarchitectural, essentially plastic. At a period when the architects and sculptors of northern France were learning to subordinate sculpture to architecture, and by that means attain perhaps the highest artistic unity that has ever been achieved, Guglielmo the individualist, the true Italian, impatiently pushed aside all restraints imposed by architectural unity. His sculptures were sufficient in themselves. He sought no higher significance either artistic or intellectual. It is, nevertheless, a strange fact that in the cathedral of Cremona he instituted the motive of jamb sculptures (Plate 83, Fig. 8) destined to inspire northern artists with one of their most characteristic and completely architectural motives. In the hands of the masters of the western portal of Chartres, of the west façade of Amiens, or even of St.-Trophime of Arles, these jamb statues undoubtedly became charged with an architectural character, with an intellectual and spiritual significance, with a solemnity of rhythm and with a sweetness that were far beyond the power of Guglielmo. Nevertheless his four prophets of Cremona must always be numbered among the great masterpieces of mediæval sculpture, unforgettable for their austerity, their dignity, their Assyrian-like grandeur.

The art of Guglielmo paved the way not only for the masters of mediæval sculpture in the Ile-de-France, but also for the artists of the Italian Renaissance, for Giotto and Michelangelo. As the first figure in the long dynasty of Italian artists Guglielmo for all his faults acquires singular interest.

A true forerunner of the Renaissance, he threw off the restraints of the Church and of religion as impatiently as he did those of architecture. We find in his works but faint and half-hearted traces of that beautiful symbolism in which mediæval artists so often found their inspiration. Biblical scenes he treats in a familiar, often a semi-comic, manner. Adam and Eve appear as matter-of-fact and rather stupid peasants; even the Deity is represented with uncompromising realism and absolute lack of idealization. The sculptor is evidently interested primarily in illustration, in the telling of a story clearly and distinctly, and

this he succeeds in doing in admirable fashion, at times even with an amazing touch of psychology, as when, for example, the two sons of Noah gossip together as they come out from the ark (Plate 145, Fig. 3).

There is something very pagan in this spirit of Guglielmo, as there is in that of his successors of the XV century. Indeed we can not doubt that Guglielmo, both in the spirit and technique of his works, fell strongly under the influence of Roman sculpture quite as much as did the artists of the Quattrocento. It is known that ancient ruins were dug up to supply material for the cathedral of Modena. The lions which supported the columns of the Lombard porch were found in such excavations. Other sculptures must have come to light as well, and these must have powerfully influenced Guglielmo. The proof is to be found not only in the spirit of his work, but in two reliefs of the façade of the cathedral of Modena representing Cupids with reversed torches (Plate 142, Fig. 2), obviously literal copies from some Roman sarcophagus.

CHAPTER III. NICOLÒ AND THE SCHOOL OF GUGLIELMO DA MODENA

The art of Guglielmo da Modena is undoubtedly the dominating force in the development of sculpture in Lombardy in the XII century. His was a root stock upon which was merely grafted the native Lombard or Languedoc cross tendencies which bore fruit in Nicolò, Benedetto and the other sculptors the XII century produced in such abundance. The school of Guglielmo, therefore, embraces the important line of development of Lombard sculpture for nearly a century. The artists who failed to fall under his influence constitute numerically but a small minority, and one of slight importance for the art of the future.

Of all the followers of Guglielmo da Modena the most prolific and the most famous was undoubtedly Nicolò. By his hand we have a signed work at the Porta dello Zodiaco of Sagra S. Michele, which on its style may be set down with considerable confidence as a youthful production executed c. 1120. We have signed and dated works at the cathedral of Ferrara (1135), at S. Zeno of Verona (1138), and at the cathedral of Verona (1139). Analogies of style leave no doubt that the sculptures of the western façade of the cathedral of Piacenza begun in 1122 are also by the same artist.

These works are amply sufficient to give a clear idea of the artistic personality of the sculptor, and of his development during a period of twenty years. Upon studying them it becomes immediately clear that Nicolò must have been a pupil of Guglielmo da Modena, although there is extant no work in which the two artists collaborated. From Guglielmo, Nicolò adopted the entire foundation of his art: the short stocky figures, the heavy proportions, the type of draperies and numerous details of technique. From Guglielmo he derived his caryatids and the Lombard porch, both so characteristic of his manner. From

Guglielmo he took over the motive of jamb sculptures, and even the inscriptions which he places upon the scrolls of his prophets. It would be merely tedious to catalogue the many other resemblances between the two artists; the fact that they have been so often confounded, even by competent critics, is sufficient proof of their close relationship.

It is indeed perhaps more important to insist upon their differences, since these, though great, have hitherto been generally overlooked. We notice first of all that the sculptures of Nicolò are more architectural. His reliefs are never inserted as a band running across the façade like those of Guglielmo at Modena (Plate 140, Fig. 1).[1] At Sagra S. Michele (Plate 196A, Fig. 1, 2) they are treated in a purely architectural manner, as they are also in the cathedrals of Piacenza (Plate 181, Fig. 1; Plate 182, Fig. 4), Ferrara (Plate 88, Fig. 1, 2, 3; Plate 89, Fig. 1, 4, 5), and Verona (Plate 217, Fig. 1, 3, 5). Only at S. Zeno of Verona are plaques inlaid in the wall (Plate 230, Fig. 2), and even here some attempt is made to save the architecture by grouping the reliefs between pilaster strips. A comparison of the story of Genesis as sculptured by Guglielmo at Modena (Plate 142, Fig. 3; Plate 143, Fig. 1; Plate 144, Fig. 1, 2) with that sculptured by Nicolò at S. Zeno (Plate 230, Fig. 2) will serve to establish the sharp difference between the two sculptors. Guglielmo is simple, direct, straightforward; Nicolò is less powerful but more tender. Guglielmo's backgrounds are severely plain, those of Nicolò tend to be over-ornate and restless. Guglielmo places a simple frieze of arched corbeltables above his figures; Nicolò places them instead in blind arches, not only at S. Zeno, but at Ferrara (Plate 88, Fig. 1, 2) and Piacenza (Plate 181, Fig. 1; Plate 182, Fig. 4) as well. Comparing the jamb sculptures of Guglielmo at Cremona (Plate 83, Fig. 8) with those of Nicolò at Verona (Plate 217, Fig. 1, 3) and Ferrara (Plate 89, Fig. 1, 4) we feel even more keenly the greater austerity, dignity and power of the more archaic artist; the grace, softness and tendency to over-elaboration of the younger.

[1] Guglielmo's reliefs at Cremona were probably similarly disposed.

There are, moreover, strongly present in the art of Nicolò certain definite influences entirely lacking in that of Guglielmo. It is not open to doubt that Nicolò had come in direct contact with the school of Languedoc. The prophets of Verona (Plate 217, Fig. 3) and Ferrara (Plate 89, Fig. 1) both stand with crossed legs; this is a characteristic mannerism of the school of Languedoc, and wherever it is found, it is certain that we have the influence of that powerful centre. At Piacenza (Plate 182, Fig. 4) and at Ferrara (Plate 89, Fig. 5) as well as in numerous other works of Nicolò, the lower edge of the draperies falls in a curious zigzag line ("Japanese wave-movement") also characteristic of the art of Languedoc. At Sagra S. Michele is represented a woman whose breasts are eaten by serpents. This subject, unusual in mediæval iconography, appears to be derived from the porch of Moissac where the vice Luxury is depicted in this manner (Plate 94, Fig. 5). Numerous details of the decorative carving at Sagra S. Michele (Plate 196A, Fig. 1) show clearly the influence of southern French models. It is evident therefore that Nicolò fell much more strongly than Guglielmo under the influence of Languedoc.

On the other hand he also appears to have been more strongly influenced by the decorative art of the school of Milan than was Guglielmo. The Porta dello Zodiaco (Plate 196A, Fig. 1, 2) appears to have been inspired by the portal of Cemmo (Plate 51, Fig. 2), erected c. 1110. The lions in relief, the engaged columns, the type of decoration are so strikingly similar as to justify the inference of direct influence. Moreover, certain capitals of the Porta dello Zodiaco representing respectively a siren, eagles, and an animal with its tail between its legs (Plate 196A, Fig. 1) clearly belong in style to the school of Milan, and this same Milanese influence is traceable even in the later works of Nicolò, while it is completely lacking in the art of Guglielmo.

Numerous other mannerisms of Nicolò serve to distinguish his art from that of Guglielmo. One of the most striking peculiarities of his manner is his habit of constructing Lombard porches of characteristic form. At Piacenza (Plate 182, Fig. 3;

Plate 181, Fig. 1), Verona (Plate 217, Fig. 5), Ferrara (Plate 88, Fig. 3) and at S. Zeno of Verona (Plate 225, Fig. 2) such porches exist. On the archivolt are carved a series of medallions, and on either side of the gable the figures of the two Johns. This latter peculiarity of iconography seems to have been Nicolò's own, and not suggested by the Church. There was no reason other than the childish one of the name, for placing the Baptist and the Evangelist opposite each other, nor was this, so far as I know, done elsewhere in mediæval art. It would certainly not have been desired independently by the clergy of four distinct churches. Nicolò indeed was evidently a man of unusual learning. He was able to write Latin verses, and prided himself upon the fact, since he took pains to record it in an inscription at Sagra S. Michele. He displayed a greater knowledge of astronomy than that shown by any other artist of the Middle Ages. Only once at S. Zeno of Verona does he content himself with an ordinary zodiac such as was customarily represented in his time. At Piacenza and Sagra S. Michele he flowers out with subjects revealing amazing astronomical erudition. Nevertheless Nicolò was hardly more deeply versed than Guglielmo in scholastic philosophy. In his works there is scarcely a trace of the symbolical and mystic interpretation of the Scriptures with which mediæval art is commonly so deeply tinged.

Nicolò, although the most conspicuous, was far from being the only artist to continue the tradition of Guglielmo. It is true that most of the other followers of the great Modenese are nameless, but their works still survive, and it is occasionally possible to determine something of their artistic personalities.

One of the earliest is the sculptor who collaborated with Guglielmo in the Porta della Peschería at Modena. It is evident that the greater part of the archivolt and the jambs of this most interesting doorway (Plate 144, Fig. 3) are by a hand quite distinct from that of the master. This same hand reappears in the sculpture of Berta (Plate 29, Fig. 3) and the tympanum of the northern portal (Plate 29, Fig. 5) at Borgo S. Donnino. The artist, only to a very small extent, fell under the influence of Guglielmo. His style has about it something mysterious and

archaic, akin to that of the primitive sculptor of the doors of S. Zeno at Verona (Plate 234, Fig. 1). He was perhaps an older man, trained in metal work, who was unable to free himself from the traditions of an earlier time. He appears to avoid subjects of religious import, but to have a passion for the popular stories dear to the people. Notwithstanding the bird-like faces he gives his figures and his fondness for stiff and rigid symmetry, he is an artist of power, possessing more sense of composition than Guglielmo himself, and indeed than any artist of the first half of the XII century in Lombardy. His sculptures have about them always something heraldic, something splendidly decorative. His animals are particularly successful, notably the horses in the Modena archivolt (Plate 144, Fig. 3), and the winged and chained griffins of the Berta (Plate 29, Fig. 3).

The other sculptor who executed the Porta de' Principi (Plate 142, Fig. 4) at Modena, evidently also under the direction of Guglielmo, is distinctly less interesting. His seems to be the indistinctive and uninteresting art of the plodding imitator; he nevertheless possesses mannerisms of his own that make it possible to determine that the architrave of S. Celso at Milan (Plate 126, Fig. 1) was executed by some one who had fallen directly under his influence as well as under that of Nicolò.

It must have been an artist of considerable power who executed the charming tympanum of Torre dei Piccenardi now in the Museo Archeologico of Milan (Plate 115, Fig. 3). It is obvious that his inspiration was drawn in part from Guglielmo, in part from the school of Languedoc. The influence of the former is revealed by the faces, especially by that of the upper angel to the left, that of the latter by the transparent draperies indicated by parallel lines and the contorted position of the figures. Notwithstanding the crudity of the execution, the composition of this relief is extraordinarily fine, and gives reason for regret that no other works by the same master have come down to us.

The ambo sculptures of Quarantoli (Plate 190, Fig. 1), authentically dated 1114, were evidently executed under the direct inspiration of the style of Guglielmo. The figure we

reproduce (Plate 190, Fig. 1) would seem to be a conscientious copy of the Enoch at Modena (Plate 142, Fig. 2), at least as far as regards the drapery and the position of the figure. Although a slavish imitator, and possessed of no strong individual style, this artist seems nevertheless to have shown a considerable degree of technical skill.

As much can hardly be said for the artist who sculptured, about this same time, the ambo now reconstructed in the church of Bellagio (Plate 22, Fig. 1, 2). It is true that it is hardly fair to blame the sculptor for the worst fault which this pulpit now possesses, that is, absence of composition, for the ancient sculptures have been arbitrarily and evidently erroneously pieced together. The amazing part is not that the technique is crude, for that is characteristic of the region of Como at this period, but that the influence of Guglielmo da Modena is distinctly to be traced in the draperies of the angel (Plate 22, Fig. 1). It is an eloquent testimony to the great diffusion and rapid spread of his style.

Of far greater artistic value are the sculptures of Nonantola (Plate 155, Fig. 1, 3, 5); indeed, so excellent are these, that there are critics who do not hesitate to assign them to the hand of Guglielmo himself. We must in fact acknowledge that they are the work of a sculptor who had studied so carefully Guglielmo's works at Modena that he at times reproduces certain figures almost exactly. The draperies of the Modena Enoch (Plate 142, Fig. 2), for example, which seem to have impressed so profoundly contemporary artists, are almost exactly reproduced in the Astolfo (the figure seen to the left below in Plate 155, Fig. 1). Guglielmo's arched corbel-tables, like innumerable other details of his style, are faithfully and accurately copied. The sculptor of Nonantola, however, had certain mannerisms and characteristics which distinguish his work from that of Guglielmo. In authentic sculptures of the latter we never find head-dresses such as those of Mary and Elisabeth in the Visitation (Plate 155, Fig. 3) or of Astolfo (Plate 155, Fig. 1). The Nonantola sculptures are, moreover, more restless and crowded, less well composed than any by Guglielmo. We must admit, nevertheless,

that they are by the hand of a very close follower, and an artist of great excellence.

By the hand of another follower of Guglielmo are the sculptured capitals of the cathedral of Parma. This artist, who was powerfully influenced by that assistant of Nicolò who executed the capitals of the cathedral of Piacenza, has left us also notable works in the ambo sculptures at Sasso (Plate 205, Fig. 4). The draperies of the donor represented on the Sasso ambo (Plate 205, Fig. 4) seem to be inspired in part by the sculptor of Torre dei Piccenardi (Plate 115, Fig. 3). At other times, however, our artist imitates closely the draperies of Guglielmo. He never tires of placing in the hands of his figures a purse always sculptured in a peculiar way (Plate 205, Fig. 4); his figures are badly proportioned with thick necks, over-large heads and hands. By a hand closely related, if not identical, are the important sculptures of Cavana.

The sculptured capital of S. Abondio now in the museum of Como is evidently the work of a follower of Guglielmo who was influenced by Nicolò and the master of the Porta dei Principi at Modena. The unknown master who sculptured the ambo of the Madonna del Castello of Almenno S. Salvatore—c. 1130—(Plate 11, Fig. 6), and two capitals at Almenno S. Bartolomeo—c. 1140—(Plate 10, Fig. 7) imitated Guglielmo as well as the master of Bellagio. The sculptor who worked at Borgo c. 1135 shows strongly the influence of Nicolò whose porches (Plate 29, Fig. 4, 5), whose medallions on the archivolts (Plate 29, Fig. 4, 5), whose caryatids (Plate 29, Fig. 5), and whose mouldings (Plate 29, Fig. 4, 5) he reproduces. There is no indication that this artist fell directly under the influence of Guglielmo.

Similarly Guglielmo da Verona, who is known to us only by the familiar reliefs at S. Zeno (Plate 230, Fig. 1, 3; Plate 229, Fig. 3, 4), betrays no characteristics which prove immediate contact with Guglielmo da Modena. His style was evidently formed entirely under the influence of Nicolò. From Nicolò he derived his restlessness, his tendency to overcrowd his space with figures and decoration. He lacks entirely the power and dignity

of Guglielmo da Modena. His treatment of drapery suggests that he may have come in contact with southern French (Provençal rather than Languedoc) models directly. Compare, for example, the treatment of the folds of the cloth of the Virgin's couch at S. Zeno (Plate 230, Fig. 3) with the draperies in the sacrifice of Cain and Abel at St.-Gilles (Plate 230, Fig. 5). Nicolò himself, however, may possibly have undergone this Provençal influence. (Compare his hunt of Theodoric at S. Zeno—Plate 229, Fig. 2—with the hunting centaur of St.-Gilles—Plate 229, Fig. 1). Guglielmo da Verona may consequently have derived these characteristics not from Provence directly but from Nicolò. The star in his relief of the Nativity (Plate 230, Fig. 3) is precisely similar to an ornament employed in the cathedral of Cahors.

Several sculptures of the cathedral of Cremona were executed by imitators of Guglielmo da Modena. Conspicuous among these are the Berta and Giovanni Baldesio (Plate 83, Fig. 7) now under the western portico. The architrave of the northern transept (Plate 83, Fig. 4) also shows clearly the influence of the Modenese master. Something in the crouching attitude of the apostles recalls the much later sculptures of Maguelonne. Either both are derived from a common southern French prototype, or else influence flowed at times from Lombardy into Provence as well as in the opposite direction.

The influence of Guglielmo da Modena continued to be predominant in northern Italy until the ninth decade of the XII century. The reliefs which the master Alberto executed at Castelnuovo Scrivia as late as 1183 (they are signed and dated) show merely a crude aping of the style of Nicolò (Plate 50, Fig. 4).

About the same time at Castell'Arquato there were executed by an unknown sculptor who evidently worked under the strong inspiration of Guglielmo da Modena, a lunette (Plate 48, Fig. 3) and ambo sculptures (Plate 49) which must be ranked among the highest artistic achievements of the plastic art of the XII century in Lombardy. Romanesque sculpture in no country

produced works in which grace of line, poetic content and admirable composition are blended in higher degree.

While the base of the art of the admirable sculptor of Castell'Arquato was evidently the manner of Guglielmo, he underwent many other influences, some of which are evidently exotic. The lower fringe of his draperies showing a strong tendency to the "Japanese wave-movement" is evidently derived ultimately from Languedoc. So also the crossed legs of the beautiful angel in the Annunciation. Did he receive this influence directly, however, or through the medium of Nicolò? The transparent draperies might seem to indicate that the former was the case, and yet these draperies in turn might have been inspired by the ambo sculptures of Sasso (Plate 205, Fig. 4) or the tympanum of Torre dei Piccenardi (Plate 115, Fig. 3) with both of which they possess the closest analogies.

Even more puzzling are the analogies which the Castell'Arquato sculptures present with works of art executed somewhat earlier in the Ile-de-France. The streaming drapery, for example, that floats to the left of the Madonna in the lunette (Plate 48, Fig. 3) or to the right of the marvellous angel of St. Matthew (Plate 49) is a typical French motive repeated almost as persistently by the sculptors of the royal domain as by our artist. The figure of the angel of St. Matthew (Plate 49), which for sheer beauty is perhaps not unentitled to rank with the finest masterpieces of Greek sculpture, reproduces line for line an angel sculptured upon the portal of Le Mans. Even more extraordinary, an almost precisely similar figure is found in a VI century mosaic of the Duomo at Parenzo. I do not, therefore, believe that the sculptor of Castell'Arquato necessarily fell under the direct influence of the Ile-de-France. It is more probable that both he and the French sculptors were influenced by ivory-carvings in which were preserved Byzantine traditions of an early date.

However this may be, the sculptures of Castell'Arquato remain priceless gems of Romanesque art. Although it must be conceded that the execution is inferior to the conception and

content, these reliefs are nevertheless certainly worthy from every point of view of the highest admiration.

Almost equally fine are the contemporary sculptures of the ambo of Carpi (Plate 43, Fig. 2). Indeed, in view of the excellence of the work, it is almost tempting to try to identify the sculptors of Carpi and Castell'Arquato, but numerous distinctions of style make it impossible that they should have been the same. The sculptor of Carpi is also a follower of Guglielmo da Modena, and he also shows a strong Languedoc influence which also may have been derived through the art of Nicolò. He is psychological to an extraordinary degree, and knows how to lend to his creations space, repose and poetic atmosphere (Plate 43, Fig. 2). He handles his draperies far more skilfully than the sculptor of Castell'Arquato, but lacks the mastery of line possessed by the latter.

A sculptor named Pellegrino executed a piece of church-furniture—probably the ciborio of a reliquary—for the cathedral of Verona at about this same time (Plate 217, Fig. 4). Although signed in pompous verses, this is an inferior work. Pellegrino is obviously a late and awkward imitator of Nicolò, with whose sculptures on the cathedral of Verona (Plate 217, Fig. 1, 3) he was doubtless familiar. Something in the drapery of his figures recalls also the sculpture of the donor at Sasso (Plate 205, Fig. 4).

Finally at Varese in the year 1187 was begun, but never finished, a baptismal font by an unnamed sculptor, who even at this late date based his art upon that of Guglielmo da Modena (Plate 214, Fig. 3). The figure of John in the Baptism (Plate 214, Fig. 3), for example, shows close imitation of the Modenese master. The draperies in the loin-cloth of Christ strongly recall those of the donor of Sasso (Plate 205, Fig. 4). The Varese artist is, however, far inferior to the sculptors of Castell'Arquato and Carpi. His figures are badly proportioned, the body of the Christ is too long, the legs too short, the hands too large (Plate 214, Fig. 3), the expressionless eyes stare vacuously straight ahead, the composition is lacking in grace and originality.

Before leaving the art of Guglielmo da Modena a word should be said upon its influence outside of the limits of Lombardy. There can be no doubt that this was very great. We have already seen that the artists of the Ile-de-France did not hesitate to borrow from him one of their most important motives, that of jamb sculptures. The sculptured capital of Ile-Bouchard (Plate 145, Fig. 2) might almost be mistaken for a work by the hand of the master himself. When the Romanesque art of southern France comes to be more thoroughly explored we shall doubtless find that Guglielmo was known and copied in Provence and Languedoc. He, and especially his pupil Nicolò, exercised a profound influence upon the Romanesque art of Spain and especially upon that of the pilgrimage churches on the road to Campostelle. As far away as England the font of Winchester (Plate 83, Fig. 3) seems to shows traces of the influence of his school.

In central and southern Italy this influence was also felt. The sculptor of Fossacesia in Tuscany (Plate 143, Fig. 2) must have known the art both of Guglielmo (Plate 143, Fig. 1) and of Nicolò (Plate 230, Fig. 3). The influence of the school of Guglielmo is unmistakable in the archivolt of S. Salvatore at Lucca (Plate 83, Fig. 5). Even in Apulia it may be traced in the sculptures of Bari (Plate 143, Fig. 3), Bitonto (Plate 143, Fig. 4) and possibly Barletta (Plate 83, Fig. 1). A more careful examination would doubtless result in revealing further evidences of the influence of this master to whom it was given as to few others to direct the destinies of art, and who is undoubtedly the most commanding figure in the history of sculpture in the XII century.

CHAPTER IV. THE SCHOOLS OF CLUNY AND PAVIA

The term 'school of Cluny' which I have ventured to employ to designate a group of sculptures, few in number but of extraordinary artistic value, is perhaps misleading. There are only two monuments which can be included under this head—the tomb of S. Alberto at Pontida (Plate 189, Fig. 1, 2) and the archivolt of the western portal of Calvenzano (Plate 42, Fig. 7). Both are the work of the same hand, so that, strictly speaking, we have to do not with a school at all but with an individual genius. Moreover this sculptor, at least as far as I am able to establish, has nothing to do with the French monastery of Cluny. He merely worked for the Cluniac monks of Lombardy, and his art, in so far as it shows ultramontane tendencies, is related to the sculpture of Languedoc rather than to that of Burgundy.

As far as it is possible to judge, he perhaps slightly antedates Guglielmo da Modena. S. Alberto died in 1095. His tomb was consequently in all probability executed soon after this date (Plate 189, Fig. 1, 2) and therefore before Guglielmo began work upon the cathedral of Modena in 1099. The archivolt of Calvenzano which is probably even earlier than the tomb of S. Alberto may have been executed c. 1095 (Plate 42, Fig. 7).

The artistic personality revealed in these two sculptures is in the highest degree extraordinary and interesting. Before the time of Guglielmo da Modena, and apparently quite independent of him, we find another artist who was his equal in strong and rapid narration, his superior in delicacy of technique. In the architecture of the Calvenzano portal we find a feeling for perspective and for realistic representation that almost makes us think of the great artists of the Renaissance. The towers and

turrets foreshadow Giotto, the loggia, in which sits the Virgin of the Adoration, Fra Angelico and Ghiberti. Whence did this admirable master derive his beautiful art?

I can throw no light on the question. Analogies, and even close analogies, certainly exist between his work and the works of Guglielmo, Nicolò and their school. I very much doubt, however, whether these are the result of direct contact and not rather to be explained on the theory that both are derived from common prototypes, such as ivory-carvings or earlier Italian sculptures now lost. Other analogies equally unmistakable connect the works of our artist with the school of Languedoc. But here again there is little to indicate in which direction the influence flowed. There remain, moreover, to be explained the extraordinary iconographic peculiarities so striking in both sculptures the Cluniac master has left us. I know of no other representation in mediæval art of the death of Herod depicted at Calvenzano (Plate 42, Fig. 7), nor have I found elsewhere any scenes like those of the tomb of S. Alberto (Plate 189, Fig. 1, 2).[1]

Notwithstanding his extraordinary merits, the Cluniac sculptor exerted but little influence upon his time. He affected the school of Guglielmo da Modena as little as he did that of Pavia.

The latter we have left with the splendid but barbaric decoration of S. Michele of Pavia executed c. 1100. After this the school was not slow to attain its full maturity. In Pavia itself we can trace its development in the sculptures of S. Stefano (Plate 179, Fig. 2, 3, 4, 5), S. Giovanni in Borgo (Plate 167, Fig. 2), S. Gervasio and S. Pietro in Ciel d'Oro. The figure of a bishop from S. Giovanni in Borgo (Plate 167, Fig. 2) may be taken as exemplifying the characteristics of this school at its best. Notwithstanding the obvious faults, the stiffness, the poor drawing, the lack of anatomy and the unpleasant hardness, the statue nevertheless possesses a sweeping dignity and an hieratic quality that entitle it to admiration. It is obvious that the school

[1] For a detailed study of the iconography see below, Vol. II, p. 231; Vol. III, pp. 294 f.

of Pavia remained until the fourth decade of the XII century entirely uninfluenced by the work of Guglielmo da Modena.

Outside of Pavia other sculptures were executed equally without the influence of Guglielmo and in a style which resembles that of Pavia in its general stiffness and barbaric feeling, if not in actual details of technique. At S. Fedele of Como (c. 1115) were executed reliefs singularly wild both in composition and in execution. Although figure-sculptures are attempted, these productions leave us with much the same impression of splendid barbarism as does the façade of S. Michele at Pavia.

In the cathedral of Lodi are preserved sculptures of a bishop and a saint, and a Last Supper, all brought to their present site from Lodi Vecchio, where they were executed probably about 1115. They show numerous close points of contact with works of the Pavese school, and especially with the archbishop of S. Giovanni in Borgo (Plate 167, Fig. 2). The sculptures of Lodi appear to have exercised a notable influence, especially upon the sculptors who subsequently worked upon the ambo of Isola S. Giulio, the cloister of S. Orso of Aosta, the ambo of S. Ambrogio at Milan and the portal sculptures of Lodi and S. Antonino of Piacenza. The most marked characteristic of the style is an adamantine hardness, and this quality, not lacking even before in the Pavese school, became from this time onward the strongest note in its products.

Such hardness is very conspicuous in the sculptures of the ambo of Isola S. Giulio (Plate 100, Fig. 8) executed c. 1120. These curious works were nevertheless strongly influenced also by the school of Guglielmo da Modena and by direct contact with Roman antiquities. The admirable capitals of the cloister of S. Orso of Aosta (Plate 12, Fig. 6; Plate 13, Fig. 1, 3; Plate 14, Fig. 1, 2, 3; Plate 15, Fig. 3) are evidently derived directly from the ambo of Isola S. Giulio. They retain with especial emphasis the hardness we have already noted as so characteristic of the products of the Pavese school. In the second remove the influence of Guglielmo da Modena has almost totally disappeared, but on the other hand the classical influences of Isola still persist. The artist was evidently an original genius, and his

style has a strongly individual character which lends it a peculiar fascination, notwithstanding the crudity of the technique.

Very coarse grotesque sculptures recalling those of S. Michele of Pavia were executed at Gallarate c. 1145. Even as late as the eighth decade of the XII century the school of Pavia still lived on, not entirely conquered by the ever growing influence of Guglielmo da Modena. This fact is witnessed by the sculptures of S. Simpliciano of Milan executed in 1171. Although the influence of Guglielmo da Modena is doubtless present, and notwithstanding the evident refinement which is certainly not one of the characteristics of the Pavese manner, these sculptures nevertheless are fundamentally Lombard in feeling.

Equally Lombard was the sculptor who in this same year 1171 executed the figures of Adam and Eve at S. Antonino of Piacenza (Plate 182, Fig. 1). Though he could hardly have failed to have seen the sculptures of Nicolò at the cathedral of Piacenza (Plate 182, Fig. 4), he seems to have drawn from them but singularly little profit. The lower folds of the draperies and certain details of the decorative carving are the most notable traces of this influence to be found. His roots seem to have sprung from the Last Supper at Lodi. Some nine years later this same artist worked upon the western portal of the cathedral of Lodi (Plate 104, Fig. 1). So notable is the difference in his manner, so striking the introduction of Languedoc mannerisms such as crossed legs, transparent draperies and figures bent in S-shaped curves (compare Plate 104, Fig. 1, with Plate 104, Fig. 2), that we are justified in assuming he had in the interim made a journey to Languedoc.

CHAPTER V. BENEDETTO MISCALLED ANTELAMI

With Benedetto dawns a new era in Lombard sculpture. As Guglielmo had brushed away the traditions of the XI century, Benedetto brushed away those of the XII century. He founded a school less important only than that of Guglielmo himself, while his artistic productions undoubtedly have a more immediate æsthetic appeal, and possibly a higher artistic value than those of the more archaic sculptor.

Like Guglielmo, Benedetto appears to have but slight connection with what had gone before. If we search Lombardy for precedents to his manner, we shall find only two works of plastic art that seem to prepare the way for his coming. These are the admirable prophets belonging to the cathedral of Piacenza, and now in a museum of that city (Plate 181, Fig. 3, 4). Indeed so close is the relationship between these sculptures and the work of Benedetto that we may pronounce them with considerable confidence to be by the hand of his master (Plate 181, Fig. 3, 4).

The Piacenza prophets appear on their face to have been born from the meeting of two divergent traditions. The first is obviously the influence of Guglielmo da Modena. This is to be noticed in the rigid form of the statues which seem to be carved out of a thin slab of stone, like the jamb sculptures of Cremona (Plate 83, Fig. 8). There is the same constrained attitude, the same suppressing of all protruding members, the same air of mystery. The long scrolls with inscriptions of the Piacenza prophets are also evidently derived from the Cremona figures as are also numerous details of technique, such as the eyes (compare Plate 181, Fig. 4, with Plate 83, Fig. 8) and the feet seen, as it were, in plan from above and with accentuated cords (compare again Plate 181, Fig. 4, with Plate 83, Fig. 8).

Notwithstanding all these resemblances, however, the statues

of Piacenza depart widely from the manner of Guglielmo. They show a new spirit, and this spirit is derived from Languedoc. The draperies instead of being heavy and wooden, as in the work of Guglielmo (Plate 83, Fig. 8), are transparent, clinging, marvellously graceful and beautiful (Plate 181, Fig. 3, 4), like those in that most exquisite of all Romanesque sculptures, the never-to-be-forgotten Annunciation of Moissac (Plate 104, Fig. 2). From Languedoc, too, comes the attenuation of the figures, the spirit of refinement and delicacy which they breathe, as well as numerous details of the technique, such as the "Japanese wave-movement" of the draperies.

Now this unknown sculptor who combined the art of Guglielmo with the spiritual, imaginative forms of Languedoc, is the only artistic predecessor of Benedetto, knowledge of whom has come down to us, and of him are extant only the two statues we have described. In the art of Benedetto there enter, beside his influence, clear traces of contact with the art of Provence and the Ile-de-France.

The former is so evident that it has been recognized by practically all critics. Zimmermann,[1] Vöge,[2] and Venturi, however discordant their views upon other details of Benedetto's art, are agreed in conceding the strength of this Provençal influence, as indeed must be whoever compares Benedetto's works in Lombardy with the sculptures of Arles and St.-Gilles.

Did Benedetto also come under the direct influence of the Ile-de-France, as Zimmermann affirms and Vöge denies? The numerous points of contact do not leave the issue in doubt. Benedetto's fondness for symbolism and scholastic philosophy was a new note in the sculpture of Lombardy, but one which the sculptors of the royal domain had already carried to splendid development. Certain subjects like the Last Judgment Benedetto introduced apparently for the first time in Lombardy, although they had long been developing in France. The free-standing colonnettes of Benedetto's portals, the banding of his shafts, his base mouldings, and the draperies of certain figures all make it certain that Benedetto had seen with his own eyes

[1] 154-155. [2] 417-418.

the contemporary art of northern France. Furthermore the voussoir sculptures which he introduces in the portal of Borgo S. Donnino are obviously a French motive. (Compare Plate 27, Fig. 3, with Plate 27, Fig. 4, 1).

Byzantine ivory-carving undoubtedly contributed another influence which entered into the formation of the art of Benedetto. The angels, for example, so characteristic of his manner (Plate 29, Fig. 1; Plate 164, Fig. 1, 3; Plate 165, Fig. 4) are analogous to the similar Byzantine figures in two Byzantine ivory-carvings of the Morgan collection—one a Death of the Virgin of the XI century,[3] the other a pyxis of much earlier date[4] representing twice Christ in an aureole.

Whether in addition to all these other influences Benedetto also fell under the spell of the ethereal and fascinating art of Languedoc is open to serious question. His uncouth disciple who executed the clumsy carvings of Fornovo Taro certainly did (compare Plate 94, Fig. 2, with Plate 94, Fig. 5); but it is not easy to prove that with Benedetto the case was the same. Yet I strongly suspect it; his works often betray a feeling for the beauty of line, a certain inexpressible, spiritual something which seems redolent of the exotic beauty of Moissac and Toulouse.

In regard to the art of Benedetto we are better informed by documentary evidence than in respect to that of any other Romanesque artist of Lombardy with the single exception of Nicolò. Yet when all is said and done, the information reduces itself to singularly little, and that little is strangely baffling. In the Deposition of the cathedral of Parma (Plate 165, Fig. 4) there is an inscription giving the date, February, 1178, and the name of the sculptor Benedetto. In addition there is a very obscure line which has generally been interpreted to mean that Benedetto was nick-named Antelami, although the real meaning appears to be quite different.[5] This line which has almost certainly been misunderstood is the sole basis for the name Antelami by which our sculptor is generally known. On the

[3] Case L. [4] Case F.

[5] For a detailed discussion see below, Vol. III, p. 161.

baptistery of Parma is another inscription which states quite simply that Benedetto began the edifice in the year 1196. Here there is not a word about Antelami.

The sculptures of the baptistery of Parma are obviously by the same hand as those of the Deposition. These works are sufficient to establish the artistic personality of our artist. There can be no doubt that certain other unsigned sculptures are by him—the reliefs of the portal of the cathedral of Parma, the capitals now in the museum of the same city—these, by the way, have no connection with the Deposition which undoubtedly formed part of an altar of Nicodemus,[6]—the sculptures of the west façade of Borgo S. Donnino (Plate 27, Fig. 3; Plate 28, Fig. 1, 2; Plate 29, Fig. 1; Plate 30, Fig. 3, 5), and certain sculptures at Milan and Vercelli.[7] His masterpieces are perhaps the David and Ezekiel of Borgo (Plate 28, Fig. 1, 2), and the Flight into Egypt of the Parma baptistery (Plate 163, Fig. 2). His works, not few in number, reveal to us an artist of exceptional power and peculiarly individualized manner.

Perhaps the most striking characteristic of the art of Benedetto is its complete lack of architectural character. He never executed jamb sculptures as Guglielmo da Modena had done at Cremona (Plate 83, Fig. 8) and Nicolò at Ferrara (Plate 89, Fig. 1, 4) and Verona (Plate 217, Fig. 1, 3). The Ezekiel (Plate 28, Fig. 2) and David (Plate 28, Fig. 1) of Borgo are superb works in the round, but without connection with the architecture of the church. In fact the very use of these semicircular niches hollowed in a blank wall shows disregard of architectural propriety, although the motive was doubtless derived from classical models, perhaps through the medium of Provence. The niches were obviously made to receive the statues, not the statues to fill the niches (Plate 27, Fig. 3). Nothing could be more unarchitectural than the reliefs placed helter-skelter on either side of the principal portal at Borgo (Plate 27, Fig. 3) and as arbitrarily disposed as those of the façade of S. Michele at Pavia (Plate 174, Fig. 3). Benedetto evidently considered the front of the church of Borgo as a sort of lapidary

[6] See below, Vol. III, p. 162. [7] Illustrated by Venturi, III, 337-338.

museum on which could be conveniently displayed his plastic masterpieces. In the baptistery of Parma (Plate 163, Fig. 1) sculptural anarchy is not carried to the same extreme, but the rectangular niches introduced in the lunettes and above the northern portal bear witness to the sculptor's indifference to architectural lines. Architecturally nothing could be worse than the reliefs inserted in the upper part of the niches at Borgo (Plate 27, Fig. 3). Since Benedetto found that the space afforded by the capitals and architrave of the portal at Borgo (Plate 27, Fig. 3) was insufficient to allow him to unroll with the desired detail the life of the saint, he continued that subject on the wall on either side (Plate 27, Fig. 3). Very rarely, as in the archivolt of the Commandments and Beatitudes at Borgo (Plate 27, Fig. 3), we do surprise a certain architectural feeling in Benedetto's works, but these sculptures were executed under direct inspiration from France, and even here the Christ and Angels at the top rudely interrupt the otherwise architectural disposition (Plate 27, Fig. 3). In the interior lunettes of the baptistery of Parma the lines of the sculpture evidently bear little relationship to those of the architecture (Plate 163, Fig. 2; Plate 165, Fig. 3).

In composition Benedetto was singularly uneven. The Deposition of Parma, perhaps his earliest work (Plate 165, Fig. 4), is crowded and confused, but does not lack a certain fine rhythmic balance accentuated by the horizontal lines formed by the two angels and the rows of heads in the two groups on either side of the cross. The sculptures of Borgo show generally the same overcrowding without the compensating merits of the Parma relief. The architrave (Plate 29, Fig. 1), for example, rises at most to respectable mediocrity as far as regards composition. The exterior lunettes of the baptistery of Parma are only slightly better (Plate 164, Fig. 1, 2, 3). Other sculptures of the baptistery of Parma, on the other hand, show composition that is singularly felicitous. It would be hard to find mediæval bas-reliefs better composed than those of the parable of the Works of Mercy (Plate 165, Fig. 2), and surely Giotto himself hardly rose to greater heights of space or repose, or ever succeeded in

combining dignity and restfulness as did Benedetto in the unforgettable Flight into Egypt (Plate 163, Fig. 2).

In anatomy Benedetto is weak. The angels of the S. Donnino frieze (Plate 29, Fig. 1) fly as little as those of the Parma Deposition (Plate 165, Fig. 4). Awkward in the extreme is the figure of the sick man in the two representations of the miracle of S. Donnino at Borgo. A curious characteristic of Benedetto is the fact that his figures bend not at the waist but throughout their whole length as if they were bound to pokers (Plate 165, Fig. 4). This fault particularly prominent in his early works he somewhat outgrew, but never entirely overcame.

The chief merits of Benedetto are his keen dramatic sense and excellent psychology. Full of heraldic grandeur, sad, entirely conscious of their mission, are the impressive figures of David and Ezekiel at Borgo (Plate 28, Fig. 1, 2). Every detail has a meaning, the least gesture is significant. If Benedetto never produced any other works quite equal to these in intellectuality, he yet never descended to the trivial. In many instances, such as several miracles represented at Borgo, where the literary sources for the subject have been lost, it is still possible to follow the story even to its minutest details merely by studying the sculptures. In this, as in his psychology, Benedetto was a true Lombard, a true disciple of Guglielmo. The careless cruelty of the executioner of S. Donnino (Plate 29, Fig. 1), the perplexity of the emperor as he sits watching the saint depart, are rendered with an insight worthy of the best traditions of the Sienese. As mere illustration, as a telling of a story and the telling of it with conviction and sincerity, art could hardly go farther.

Benedetto's technique is conscientious, careful, almost too highly finished. Like a child he attempts to portray each individual hair of the beard or head (Plate 28, Fig. 1, 2). The eyes are naturalistic and life-like; the pupil even in the smallest figures is painstakingly indicated by a flat disk cut down on the rounded ball.[8] One must climb up on a ladder and examine the

[8] This serves as a convenient ear-mark to distinguish Benedetto from several of his imitators, who cut round holes to indicate the pupils.

small figures, as it were under a microscope, to realize how highly they are finished. There is something which partakes more of conscience than of genius in this excessive care of small details, which often betrays our sculptor into mannerisms of little artistic merit, although they form convenient ear-marks for recognizing his style. Thus he is very fond of indicating embroidery on the garments of his figures by means of incised round holes, which he uses at times almost to excess. He never wearies of putting on the heads of his women a curious head-dress, like a kerchief, which falls over their head and shoulders. (See, for example, the figure of the Virgin, Plate 165, Fig. 4). His Jews almost always wear skullcaps with parallel incised lines (Plate 28, Fig. 2). Every feather of the wings of his angels (Plate 29, Fig. 1), every link in the armour of his knights (Plate 29, Fig. 1), is faithfully rendered. Yet notwithstanding all this care for detail his draperies completely lack the consummate beauty of those of the schools of Languedoc and the Ile-de-France. Those of his larger figures are heavy and seem made of iron (Plate 28, Fig. 1, 2), while those of his small figures fall in fussy and unnatural folds (Plate 29, Fig. 1). The drapery of the David (Plate 28, Fig. 1) is only one step removed from that of the ancient Simon which still stands above it (Plate 29, Fig. 5). The extraordinary difference between the two figures lies in the fact that Benedetto has filled his with psychological significance, whereas, in the earlier work, the face and the body are as dead as the draperies.

Under the hand of Benedetto Lombard sculpture for the first time became religious. Not only did our artist widen vastly the iconographical repertory, not only did he introduce subjects of greater intellectual significance than had ever previously been executed in Lombardy, not only did he wed scholastic philosophy with art, but his works are characterized by a new power of directness and sincerity. Unlike his predecessors, he was a profoundly religious man, and the sincerity of his convictions lends a telling power to every work which he executed.

The influence of Benedetto was wide-spread. He founded in Italy a school which continued his manner probably long after

his death and even outside of the limits of Lombardy.[9] The zodiacs of Cremona and Ferrara show how closely some of these imitators succeeded in reproducing the manner of Benedetto himself. The sculptures of the south tower at Borgo S. Donnino (Plate 30, Fig. 1, 2) are by a pupil who possessed a remarkable degree of original power. His influence is unmistakable in the sculptures of the southern portal of S. Maria Maggiore at Bergamo.

A curious school of local sculpture grew up in the province of Parma and especially in the mountain districts under the inspiration of Benedetto. These uncouth masons travestied the style of the master, retaining his mannerisms while losing all that makes his authentic productions worthy of consideration. Such sculptures, wild as any produced in the Carlovingian epoch, are still extant at Bardone, Fornovo (Plate 94, Fig. 2) and Berceto (Plate 22, Fig. 3).

I have not observed many indications that the art of Benedetto spread without the limits of northern Italy. He lived at a period when foreign influences were pouring into Lombardy, but when counter-influences rarely radiated outwards. Nevertheless there are works in Spain which unmistakably show direct contact with his manner, notably at Estella.

[9] Works by his pupils at Venice and elsewhere have been mistaken by Venturi (III, 337-339) for productions of the master himself.

CHAPTER VI. TRANSITIONAL SCULPTURE

The sculpture of Lombardy during the second half of the XII century presents a strange lack of unity. An age which produced a master of such power and refinement as Benedetto, also gave birth to the crude and clumsy reliefs of the Ponte di Porta Romana at Milan. In a district of small geographical extent the schools of Pavia, of Guglielmo da Modena, of Benedetto and of the transition, all flourished contemporaneously and side by side.

The influence of the Ile-de-France was far from being the dominant force in the sculpture of the last half of the XII century that it was in the architecture. Nevertheless, since a considerable number of works of plastic art for the most part associated with buildings displaying Gothic tendencies naturally group themselves together, it will be convenient in this chapter to consider them as forming a sort of separate school, and to designate this school by the term transitional.

Probably one of the earliest monuments of plastic art in northern Italy to reveal northern French influence is the over-famous Palio d'Oro of S. Ambrogio at Milan (Plate 122, Fig. 3; Plate 123, Fig. 1, 2; Plate 124, Fig. 1, 2). It is not necessary to repeat here what has been said below[1] in regard to the history and probable date of this puzzling but beautiful monument. It is evident at first glance that the style of the reliefs has been profoundly affected by Byzantine ivory-carvings, as was, indeed, the plastic art of all Europe in the XII century. The position of the wings of the angels on either side of the central diamond, just below the middle, in the southern end (Plate 124, Fig. 1) almost exactly reproduces that of the angel of St. Matthew at Castell'Arquato (Plate 49), and is, as we have seen,[2] a motive

[1] Vol. II, pp. 547 f., 589 f. [2] P. 285.

which can be traced back to the VI century. The square halo of Angilberto (Plate 122, Fig. 3), the stands placed under the feet of certain angels (Plate 124, Fig. 1), endless details of technique bear unmistakable witness to the power of this Byzantine influence. Venturi, rightly recognizing this Byzantine character, has assumed that in consequence the altar must date from the IX century, although the name of the artist Volvinio clearly indicates that he was of Lombardic origin, and there is no reason to believe that the native art of Lombardy in the IX century was under dominant Byzantine influence.

A closer study of the Palio d'Oro, however, will I think convince the student, that combined with the somewhat slavish copying of Byzantine ivory-carvings, there are found certain elements which are peculiar to the sculpture of Lombardy of the XII century. Numerous figures, noticeably those of the east face (Plate 122, Fig. 3), show points of contact with the later sculptor of the bronze doors of S. Zeno at Verona (Plate 233, Fig. 1). The face of the Christ in the central medallion of the west front (Plate 123, Fig. 1) shows unmistakable relationship with certain sculptures of the cloister of S. Orso at Aosta (Plate 14, Fig. 1). The Evangelists by which the Christ is surrounded (Plate 123, Fig. 1) closely resemble the Evangelists at Castell'Arquato.

It is probable that there is also French influence to be traced in the Palio d'Oro. The contorted position of certain angels (Plate 124, Fig. 1, 2), the transparent draperies (Plate 124, Fig. 1), the attenuation of the S. Ambrogio and the Angilberto (Plate 122, Fig. 3), the curious squatting position given to the two figures just below the cross on the west front (Plate 124, Fig. 1), all indicate an influence from the school of Languedoc. More than this, in the indefinable grace of the drawing; in the exquisite lines formed by the wings of the angels surrounding the central diamond in the southern end (Plate 124, Fig. 1) or in the almost equally beautiful north end (Plate 124, Fig. 2): in the stoles of the deacons about the central cross of the northern end (Plate 124, Fig. 2); in the draperies which flutter in the wind with such infinite grace (see especially the two angels about

the diamond just below the centre of the north end—Plate 124, Fig. 2); in the indefinable sweetness that breathes through the whole composition; in a certain largeness of conception, and in the mastery of composition; in all this I believe that I feel the unmistakable influence of the Ile-de-France. If I be right, the Palio d'Oro affords the earliest instance of the influence of northern French sculpture in Lombardy.

Above the Palio d'Oro rises a ciborio which has been in hardly less measure a bone of contention and an unsolved enigma to archæologists (Plate 121, Fig. 2). The sculptures with which it is adorned are executed in stucco. Although distinctly inferior in artistic merit to those of the Palio d'Oro, they are nevertheless of no inconsiderable beauty. The result of much discussion has been to bring about a general consensus of opinion that these works were executed after the collapse of the cupola in 1196.

Now the ciborio sculptures at S. Ambrogio at Milan do not stand alone. If we compare them carefully with the sculptures, also in stucco, of Cividale (Plate 121, Fig. 4) and S. Pietro di Civate (Plate 57, Fig. 2, 4), we shall speedily convince ourselves that all are by the same hand. Since the S. Ambrogio ciborio is dated as later than 1196, and since stylistic considerations give reason to believe that this is the latest of his extant works, we may conclude that the unknown artist flourished in the last quarter of the XII century. He was, therefore, a contemporary of Benedetto. It is singular, however, that with the latter he presents almost no points of contact. The figures of the Civate ciborio (Plate 57, Fig. 2), it is true, are tipped forward without bending the waist in the same singular manner as those in Benedetto's Deposition (Plate 165, Fig. 4). But this coincidence although striking is not sufficient to prove direct contact. Our sculptor furthermore has equally little relationship with the other contemporary art of Lombardy. On the other hand, the draperies of the Christ of the S. Ambrogio ciborio (Plate 121, Fig. 2) show striking analogy with those of certain figures of the Porte Ste.-Anne of Notre-Dame at Paris. It can not be from northern France, however, that this master derives his manner. The draperies of the Peter and Paul of S. Ambrogio

with their transparent tendencies (Plate 121, Fig. 2), the very attitude of these figures, the attenuation of the female saints of Cividale (Plate 121, Fig. 4), both the draperies and figures at Civate (Plate 57, Fig. 2, 4), all reveal clearly and unmistakably the influence of Languedoc. Yet combined with this Languedoc influence there is something strange, exotic, for which I am unable to account. Was our sculptor a Spaniard? I leave the question to be determined by students more thoroughly versed than I in the interesting Romanesque monuments of that unexplored region.

Of all north Italian sculptors the one most strongly influenced by the art of the Ile-de-France was undoubtedly the master Brioloto of Verona. This excellent artist executed for S. Zeno of Verona a rose-window, a font, and a relief in the façade. Analogy of style gives reason for attributing to him also the font of S. Giovanni in Fonte of Verona. He must have worked at the end of the XII and beginning of the XIII century.

Brioloto, to judge from his art, was a native Italian. His basic stock appears to have been the school of Guglielmo da Modena, but upon this were grafted many other influences.

Of these the strongest was undoubtedly that of the Ile-de-France. The famous Wheel of Fortune about the rose-window of S. Zeno (Plate 224, Fig. 1) appears to have been inspired by the similar sculptures at St.-Étienne of Beauvais (Plate 224, Fig. 2). Numerous technical peculiarities of the font betray knowledge of northern French sculptures, especially Senlis. Besides this French influence, that of Byzantine ivory-carvings is evident. Moreover, the draperies have numerous points of contact with those of Benedetto, although they are probably derived not from him but from the master of the Piacenza prophets (Plate 181, Fig. 3, 4). Some influence of the sculptor of Torre dei Piccenardi (Plate 115, Fig. 3), and even of the master of Lodi (Plate 104, Fig. 1) is also probable. There are moreover striking analogies with the S. Ambrogio Palio d'Oro and ciborio. All told, Brioloto seems to have been affected by well nigh all the winds that were blowing in his age except that

of Benedetto. He was withal an artist of great individuality and of high artistic merit.

It is exceedingly difficult to trace the artistic genealogy of the sculptor who executed the campanile sculptures of Modena in 1184. These are works of importance (Plate 142, Fig. 5) that present striking points of contact both with the art of Guglielmo da Modena and that of Benedetto. It seems probable that the sculptor of the Modena campanile may have exerted considerable influence upon Benedetto especially in his later period. By a related, but not identical, hand are the sculptures of the choir balustrade of the cathedral of Modena (Plate 144, Fig. 4, left-hand panel; Plate 145, Fig. 4), and the now dispersed capitals of the ambo of S. Vitale delle Carpinete.[3] The ambo sculptures of the cathedral of Modena (Plate 144, Fig. 4, right-hand panel), while very closely related, are probably not by the same hand. However this may be, all these sculptures show the strong influence of the art of Benedetto combined with the tradition of Guglielmo da Modena and a love of realism and genre detail peculiar to themselves. The influence of the Ile-de-France is entirely lacking, but one feels already a foreshadowing of the spirit of the flamboyant period. Lombard sculpture had begun to decay without ever having reached full maturity.

Much the same spirit breathes in the extremely naturalistic sculptures of the arca and throne of the cathedral of Parma. Here again we find an excessive, almost revolting, realism, a love of genre detail and an absence of idealization which presage the art of the Low Countries.

[3] Venturi, III, 264 f.

Book II. Other Arts

CHAPTER I. MOSAICS

In Lombard churches there were employed two distinct kinds of mosaic decoration. The first and most generally used consisted of pavements formed of pieces of stone and marble of different colours; the second of mosaic pictures placed not on the pavement, but on the walls or vaults of the church, and manufactured in large part out of cubes of glass. Such mural decorations which had been exceedingly common in the Byzantine period—examples are still extant in the chapel of S. Satiro at S. Ambrogio of Milan, at S. Lorenzo of the same city, and formerly existed in the sacristy of SS. Felice e Fortunato of Vicenza—were rarely used after the Lombard conquest. There is extant, in fact, only one example, though that is a splendid one—the mosaic of the apse of S. Ambrogio at Milan. *Opus sectile* was used in the Byzantine period in the chapel of S. Satiro at S. Ambrogio, but this type of decoration does not appear to have survived after the VI century.

It is, therefore, with mosaic pavements that we shall have chiefly to occupy ourselves in the present chapter. At the outset it must be recognized that the pavement formed a far more vital and important element in the decorative and iconographical scheme of a Lombard church than has hitherto been suspected. There are still extant numerous fragments sufficient perhaps when taken together to give us a not erroneous impression of the extent and beauty of this art. These fragments, however, rarely survive in their original position, and are almost invariably small in size and inconspicuous. It is only after studying the remains with some care that we perceive the Lombard church was provided

with a gorgeous mosaic flooring as splendidly decorated and as rich in colour as the most adorned portions of the building.

The fact is, mosaic pavement was singularly perishable, no matter how carefully the substratum was laid. These delicate floorings woven of myriad fine bits of marble and stone, were ill calculated to resist the wear of millions of passing feet and hundreds of passing years. That is doubtless the reason that almost without exception they have been replaced by more durable, if less noble, pavements. Yet it is certain that the Lombard builders rarely left an important church unadorned with one of these pavements. In many cases where even no fragments are extant documentary sources inform us that mosaic pavements formerly existed. The Anonimo Ticinese speaks of the mosaic pavements which in the XIV century were still to be seen in several churches of Pavia. More modern writers record the mosaic pavements which formerly existed in the baptistery of Novara, at S. Vincenzo in Prato of Milan, at S. Abondio of Como, at Isola S. Giulio, at S. Fedele of Como, at Nonantola, and in the destroyed choir of the cathedral of Ferrara—all of which have disappeared. From Lombardy the art spread to the surrounding regions, to Murano, to S. Marco at Venice, to Pomposa and to the cathedral of Brindisi.

Although the art was thus broadly diffused, it must not be assumed that the pavement of all Lombard churches was necessarily in mosaic. The excavations of Monneret de Villard at S. Eufemia of Isola Comacina have proved that in this church of c. 1095 the pavement consisted of blocks of rather rough stone. For reasons of economy the mosaic pavement was doubtless omitted in many of the smaller churches.

The Lombard mosaic pavement is obviously the legitimate descendant of the tessellated pavements of the Romans. The latter, as is well known, were of most varied character and adorned with all types of design from the simplest geometric motives to elaborate pictorial compositions. Among the latter there are certain ones which present such striking resemblances with Lombard mosaics as to arouse the suspicion that the Lombard artists may from time to time have renewed their inspiration at

the fountain-head. Thus in the court museum of antiquity at Vienna[1] is a large Roman mosaic without number, but which was discovered near Salzburg in 1815. In the centre is represented Theseus fighting with the Minotaur. About is a labyrinth formed of square-angled lines. In the border among purely ornamental motives are three figure scenes which I take to represent Ariadne sitting in solitude, Theseus receiving a skein of silk from Ariadne, and Theseus and Ariadne on the ship with black sails. The analogies between this mosaic and the famous one of S. Michele at Pavia (Plate 174, Fig. 2) are so striking as to give reason to believe that the subject may have continued to some extent to be traditional from pagan times.[2] Labyrinths, it will be recalled, were a favourite decoration for the pavements of churches in northern France in the XIII century.

However this may be, the first pavements built in Christian churches seem to have been of a much more modest type. They probably contained no pictorial representations, but pure ornament of the simplest description with inscriptions recording the names of donors, and the number of square feet of the pavement paid for by each. Mosaics of this type exist at the cathedral of Verona, at S. Maria Rotonda of Brescia, at SS. Felice e Fortunato of Vicenza. Others formerly existed in the churches of S. Pietro in Dom[3] and S. Maria[4] of Brescia. There are also similar examples outside of Lombardy.[5] To judge from the classical character of the proper names, all these pavements must

[1] Saal XI.

[2] See Otto Jahn, *Archäologische Beiträge,* Berlin, Reimer, 1847, 12mo, 271.

[3] Odorici, II, 220, preserves the inscription:

MAXIMIANVS
ET LEŌTIVS
CVM SVIS
Pedes Centum

[4] Odorici, III, 31, preserves the inscription:

Syrus Diac
H(unc) L(ocum) T(essellavit) C(um) S(uis).

It is uncertain whether "S. Maria" means S. Maria Rotonda or another church.

[5] For a list of these see Müntz, 7 f. Several panels of the mosaics of St. Demetreus at Salonica were constructed at the expense of certain donors as is recorded in inscriptions (*American Journal of Archæology,* XV, 580).

have been of very early date—of the IV, V, or at latest of the VI century.

It is probable that after the Lombard conquest the construction of such elaborate floorings was more rarely undertaken, if it was not entirely discontinued. A passage in Isidore of Seville[6] gives reason to believe that mosaics were still constructed at the beginning of the VII century in Spain. In Lombardy, however, there are extant no mosaics executed in the VII, VIII, IX or X centuries.

The renaissance of the XI century affected the art of mosaic as well as architecture. Traces of mosaic pavement have been found at Galliano, at S. Vincenzo and the baptistery which date from 1007 and c. 1015 respectively. Since no fragments are extant, it is impossible to determine whether the pavement was contemporary with the buildings, but it is to be presumed that such was the case. At all events there is still preserved at Sezzè an authentically dated mosaic pavement of 1030. From this monument we are able to determine that the art had made singularly little progress since its eclipse in the VI century. The pavement of Sezzè contains no pictorial representations, but is decorated merely with inscriptions and conventional ornament for the most part amazingly restrained and almost classic in character—guilloches, rosettes and leaf patterns. At Sezzè, as generally in the Early Christian pavements, the colours are limited to black and white.

The mosaic of Acqui which dates from 1067 shows an extraordinary advance. The colours are still confined to black and white, but the design has been surprisingly developed. The new type of grotesque decoration which was being evolved in the architectural and conventional ornament is here applied to the pavement. The design, instead of being classic, is completely Lombard, full of the exuberant spirits characteristic of that style. Among the grotesque and conventional design one serious figure subject is represented—the story of Jonah. The introduction of this iconographic representation marks an immeasurable step forward in the art of mosaic pavement.

[6] *Etymologiarum*, XV, 8, ed. Migne, LXXXII, 549.

It was only at the very end of the XI century and at the beginning of the XII century, however, that the art reached its zenith. Of this period we have a splendid series of examples—the mosaics of the Duomo at Reggio—c. 1090—(Plate 191, Fig. 1, 2), of Pieve Terzagni (c. 1100), of S. Michele of Pavia—c. 1100—(Plate 174, Fig. 2), of Acquanegra (c. 1100), of S. Salutore of Turin (c. 1105), of Ivrea—c. 1105—(Plate 101, Fig. 6), of the Campo Santo of Cremona—1107-1117—(Plate 85, Fig. 1, 2), of S. Savino of Piacenza—1107—(Plate 186, Fig. 8), and of S. Tommaso of Reggio—c. 1110—(Plate 191, Fig. 3). The fragmentary mosaic of S. Invenzio of Pavia, now in the museum of that city, is in all probability also of this period.[7]

This series of monuments makes it clear that, simultaneously with the culmination of Lombard architecture, the art of mosaic had attained notable perfection. The very wildness of the grotesques, the extravagance of the design, lend peculiar charm to these splendid compositions which must have immeasurably enhanced the edifices in which they were placed, adding to the pavement a striking note of colour, and making it as dignified and as decorative as the walls and roof of the building.

There is little trace of exotic influences in the development of this important art. As we have seen, antiquity may have directly inspired some of the compositions. In certain instances, as in the pavement of the Duomo of Reggio, the influence of Cosmati artists may possibly be detected. The fact that Greek letters are used in the inscriptions of the mosaics at Pieve Terzagni and Ivrea (Plate 101, Fig. 6) gives some reason to suppose that the artists consciously imitated Byzantine models. On the whole, however, the art seems to have been to a singular degree indigenous and self-contained.

Compared with the mosaic of Acqui these later examples show a notable progress and development. The gamut of colours

[7] See Tomassetti, II, 203. This church is traditionally said to have been founded by S. Invenzio (*Catologo Rodobaldino,* ed. Boni e Majocchi, 26). A lost inscription of slight importance is preserved by Bosio (*Memoriæ Ticinenses Nouantiquæ* Hieronymi Bossii, MS. No. 180, Biblioteca dell' Università, Pavia, f. 120). The mosaics have been studied by Moiraghi (XII).

is in general much larger, although the tones employed appear to have depended upon the materials locally available. As a rule, the more colours employed, the later the mosaic, although this statement suffers many exceptions, and black and white mosaics were occasionally executed up to the very end of the Lombard period.

The drawing similarly shows much variation, but on the average continued to improve throughout the XII century, although at times it still relapsed into uncouthness especially in smaller churches.

Greater command of technical resources and the new spirit that was entering into the other arts, combined to produce the most noteworthy change which took place in mosaic during the XII century. Grotesques and conventional ornaments became constantly less prominent and were more and more supplanted by pictorial representations. In the latter was introduced a new iconography, full of intellectual quality and breathing the mystic and symbolic character of scholastic philosophy.

In the second quarter of the XII century all these same tendencies were continued and developed. To this period belong the pavements of Novara (c. 1125), formerly one of the most extensive of all Lombard mosaics but now reduced to a small fragment; the mosaic of S. Maria del Popolo of Pavia—c. 1130—(Plate 171, Fig. 1), in which a grave subject from Prudentius is treated with all the wild imagination characteristic of the school of Pavia; the pathetic fragment of the mosaic of S. Pietro in Ciel d'Oro, which is like an echo of the *Légende Dorée;* the interesting fragment of Grazzano Monferrato (Alessandria);[8] the storied pages of the grand pavement of Casale—1140—(Plate 43, Fig. 1; Plate 45, Fig. 2, 5, 6) with its representations of biblical history and fabulous beings; the equally extensive mosaic pavement of S. Maria Maggiore of Vercelli—1148—(Plate 215, Fig. 4) perhaps the finest of all Lombard mosaics; the fragments of the mosaic of S. Prospero at Reggio (1148),

[8] This church dedicated to SS. Vittore e Corona belonged to the abbey founded in 961 (Durando, 1; Benvenuti Sangeorgii, *Chronicon,* ed. *Hist. Pat. Mon.,* V, 1307; Moriondo, II, 292).

and the superb pavement of S. Benedetto Po (1151). Hand in hand with improved technique we notice a tendency to enlarge the picture, to accentuate the graphic element, to relegate pure ornament and grotesques more and more to the background.

There have recently been discovered in Lombardy three mosaic pavements which still await excavation and which promise to be more extensive and better preserved than any which are now accessible.[9]

[9] Traces of the mosaic pavement of Bobbio were first discovered in 1910 to the west of the choir and some two metres below the pavement of the church. It appears that the polychromatic mosaic covers an area of approximately one hundred square metres. The borders are formed of frets, double frets mixed with grotesques (fish, dolphin, man in boat), zigzags and patterns of pure design. To the east at the left is a group of horsemen (near by is the inscription IVDAS MACCHABEVS) fighting with other horsemen (ANT . . . . .). A third group of horsemen to the extreme right are seen in flight. These are evidently the forces of GORGIAS. In the foreground lie several corpses, one with head severed from the body. One of the fleeing horsemen falls from his horse. It is clear that we have here a representation of the battle described in I Machabees, iv, 1-15, and II Machabees, viii, 8 f.

Further along in the mosaic are seen to the right CENTARIVS—represented as at Cremona (Plate 85, Fig. 1) more like a minotaur than a centaur—fighting with a two headed beast QVIMERA; then comes LEMNAS with a man's head and a tail (compare Plate 85, Fig. 1) fighting with DRACO represented as a serpent with two wings, legs and a tail.

Further to the west WATHATH stands in an ædicule holding a lance with banner which is grasped also by the first of five persons facing him. Then comes a group of three persons PAGANI and another of six, on foot and armed, besieging a castle from which come out to oppose the besiegers three warriors also on foot. In the interior of the castle seems to be a woman. In the middle of the castle is a tower, on the other side an archer and two guards on the ramparts. Outside of all is the outer wall or gate of the castle from which emerge the three warriors. The castle is labelled ANTIOCHA.

The rest of this part of the mosaic is confused. One can vaguely distinguish the inscriptions MIL . . . . . and ANTIOCHVS REX, the latter of which evidently refers to a crowned figure beneath a canopy of which the curtains are being drawn aside. When further exploration makes it possible to study adequately this portion of the mosaic we shall doubtless be able to identify some scene connected with the history of the Machabees.

Below in the mosaic is a zodiac, of which the figures are placed in niches. When I was last at Bobbio (in April, 1913) this portion had been only in part explored. AVGVSTVS is seen nailing up a barrel. Below is VIRGO. NOVENBE[R] is seen holding a pole; below is SAGIT[TA]RIVS and way below IANVAR[IVS].

The mosaics of Chiaravalle Milanese and Gazzo Veronese had not been sufficiently explored at the time I last visited these churches to make it possible to determine anything of their character.

CHAPTER II. FRESCOS

The XX century which sees the Lombard church bleached by the curious ideas of good taste prevalent in the Barocco centuries and restored according to the still more curious conceptions of our own time, can form but little idea of the æsthetic effect which these buildings must have produced before they were disfigured by unintelligent alterations. There can be no doubt that the Lombard church, hardly less than the Greek temple or the Gothic cathedral, depended for its effect upon colour. If we lose sight of this all-important fact we shall fail to appreciate perhaps the most essential characteristic of the entire art. Colour is the æsthetic key to Lombard design. The broad surfaces of wall, the large smooth vaults always made as big and unbroken as possible, the absence of mouldings, even the low broad proportions of the church were all determined by the desire to give opportunity to the utmost possible extent for polychrome decorations.

This colour was applied in various ways. The most simple was doubtless the painting of sculptures. Probably no reliefs and few sculptures in the round were left without this enrichment. Although the gold, the rich reds and blues have generally been carefully removed or have weathered away, distinct traces of colour are still extant in the capitals of the cathedral of Piacenza, in the lunettes of the principal portal and the pontile of S. Zeno of Verona, and in many other monuments. The custom of painting statuary was a general one in the Middle Ages, and was applied not only to works in stone but also to ivory-carvings.[1]

Colour decoration was also applied in the form of pure ornament. The wall surface or moulding to be decorated was

[1] There are numerous polychrome ivory-carvings in the Morgan collection.

first covered with a coating of gesso, and on this were frescoed ornamental designs. The profiles of archivolts and jambs were doubtless generally treated in this way, and thus is to be explained the absence of small members and minute carving so characteristic of the style. Although the fresco and even the gesso have generally disappeared, traces are still extant sufficient to give us an idea of the treatment. The most striking remains are at the little church of Sparone, an edifice which dates from c. 1025. The conventional design is obviously founded on the forms of masonry. The colours are brick-red and white. Over the archivolts of the windows, about the arched corbel-tables and on the cornice is applied an ornament consisting of alternate rectangles, zigzags, or lines of brick-red and white. No words nor reproduction could give an idea of the delicate charm and exquisite refinement of this ornamentation. It raises the little country church of Sparone from an uncouth country edifice to the rank of a great work of art. If this tiny building in the wild solitude of the Alps was decorated in so exquisite a manner, what must the colour decoration have been like in the great centres of culture and civilization!

Another bit of fresco decoration dating from c. 1030 is extant at Mazzone. The edifice is somewhat more important, but the ornament, unfortunately, is less well preserved. Enough remains, however, to confirm the impression of the high artistic value of this system of ornament. Again we have conventionalized patterns founded on the forms of brickwork and executed in red and white. The chief motives are a sort of herring-bone pattern and a triangular zigzag. As at Sparone the ornament is applied to the exterior of the church. The arched corbel-tables have a decoration in fresco which recalls that executed in brick at Sannazzaro Sesia.

In the contemporary church of Loppia di Bellagio there are remains of the original fresco decoration which includes parts of figures and a conventional fret. Other similar conventional patterns in fresco dating from c. 1090 are extant on the exterior of the southern absidiole of Monastero di Capo di Ponte. At Maderno there is also extant frescoed decoration of c. 1120 in

conventional patterns. Imitation stone joints are frescoed in black and yellow at Rubbiano (c. 1130), this decoration, strangely enough, being laid over ashlar masonry of the finest quality.

These remains however fragmentary are nevertheless sufficient to indicate the great beauty of Lombard conventional decoration in fresco, and the fact that it was very extensively applied both to the interior and to the exterior of churches. It is indeed a singular fact that frescos, both figure and conventional, seem to have been applied to the exterior of the building almost as freely as to the interior, and to walls of fine ashlar as well as to those of rougher construction.[2]

The most beautiful and impressive of all the colour decorations of the Lombard church were doubtless the pictorial frescos of the walls. There can be no doubt that all the blank spaces were filled with painted figures of heraldic grandeur. The custom of decorating walls with pictorial representations was taken over by the Early Christian artists from the Romans, and was probably practised at all epochs. In Lombardy we know that the earlier basilica which existed on the site of S. Abondio of Como and which is believed to be as early as the V century, was decorated with such frescos. Traces of similar decoration were found when the foundations of the apse at Cisano were excavated.[3] There is documentary authority for the fact that the walls of S. Giovanni at Monza were frescoed.[4] Cipolla has published an old copy of some of the frescos with which the destroyed Early Christian basilica of S. Eusebio at Vercelli was

[2] There are indubitable traces of frescos (though not always contemporary) applied to the exterior walls in the following edifices: S. Pietro in Mavino of Sirmione; Curreggio (Plate 87, Fig. 1); Cosio; S. Eufemia, Isola Comacina; the cathedral of Modena; Gallarate; S. Giorgio, Almenno S. Salvatore; S. Maria del Tiglio, Gravedona; Dongo. Salimbene mentions the frescos on the exterior of the cathedral of Parma. At S. Zaccaria frescos were applied to fine ashlar masonry.

[3] The Pieve of Cisano (Verona) has been studied by Cipolla, Mazzanti, Orti Manara (*Garda*), Cavazzocca (3-12), Simeoni (*Guida,* 331), and Berchet (V, 173). An inscription in cursive in the wall of one of the Renaissance chapels on the south side of the nave records that the church was roofed in 1260. The north wall must be slightly earlier, since it contains an inscription of 1252. Unfortunately the remains of the ancient apse were very largely destroyed, but the frescoed inscription is still preserved in the sacristy.

[4] *Chronicon Modoetiense,* ed. Muratori, R. I. S., XII, 1071.

adorned. Well preserved frescos of 923 are still extant at S. Orso of Aosta. Even more interesting are the paintings of 991 at Spigno. S. Vincenzo of Galliano was completely covered with a superb series of paintings in fresco in the year 1007, and many of these are still extant notwithstanding the rough usage to which this monument has been subjected. The frescos of Aosta, Spigno and Galliano are sufficient to show that the pictorial art of the X and early part of the XI century was on a much higher artistic level than has hitherto been suspected. Not only were these frescos splendidly decorative and of high merit considered as architectural accessories, but even from a purely pictorial standpoint they are worthy of the closest study. They demonstrate that at this period there existed in Lombardy a native and independent school of painting.

The rapid progress and noteworthy achievements of this school are demonstrated by a series of fragments belonging to the XI century. S. Giovanni of Vigolo Marchese possesses remains of such frescos dating from 1008. Others may be found in the baptistery of Vigolo Marchese (c. 1010?), Piobesi (some of the frescos date from c. 1030), S. Benedetto of S. Pietro di Civate (c. 1045), S. Ambrogio and the Chiesa d'Aurona of Milan (c. 1095).

The continued development of the art in the XII century may be followed at Cavriana, S. Sofia of Padova (c. 1106, c. 1123), S. Fedele of Como (c. 1115), and Rosignano Monferrato (c. 1140). An idea of the perfection which it attained may be formed from the frescos of S. Vittore of S. Ruffillo di Bologna (Plate 203, Fig. 5), surely dated monuments of 1178. Notwithstanding the unfortunate modern restoration the beauty of this decoration is striking. Not only are the figures of saints and prophets impressive, but the conventional ornament with rinceaux, imitation stone joints, vine patterns and other similar motives is singularly harmonious. The gamut of colours is wide, including green, dull browns, pink, yellowish white, white, red and purple. An equally high idea of the pictorial art of the period is afforded by the Sagra of Carpi which retains most

notable remains of frescoed decorations dating from 1184 and including both conventional ornament and figures.

It was the habit in Italy at all periods to replace frescos which had been damaged by time, or had merely gone out of fashion by new paintings laid on above the old. Thus it happens that we sometimes find as many as three layers of frescos superposed. This custom of renewing the frescos from time to time is doubtless one of the reasons why comparatively so little of the fresco decorations of the earliest times has come down to us. The existence of frescos even of a later date, however, is often an indication that the walls were originally so decorated.[5]

It cannot be sufficiently regretted that no single Lombard church has come down to us in good enough preservation to give even an approximate idea of what must have been the total effect of the colour decoration. The charm of the interior of the baptistery of Parma stimulates the imagination to conceive of what must have been the beauty of earlier monuments decorated as they were with frescos not less rich and warm in tone, while infinitely more heraldic and architectural. Indeed, it is probable that the Lombard basilica with its painted statuary, its coloured and decorated mouldings, its mosaic pavements and its impressive frescos attained a beauty of polychrome effect hardly equalled by any other production of the hand of man.

[5] I add a list of frescos or traces of frescos, some of which can be proved to be later than the buildings to which they belong, and others of which merely can not be proved to be contemporary. I have indicated in parentheses the date of the frescos in the cases in which I have been able to determine it. Frescos of early date exist at the baptistery of Galliano, S. Giorgio di Valpolicella, S. Fedelino on the Lago di Mezzola, S. Eustorgio of Milan (destroyed), S. Pietro in Ciel d'Oro (destroyed), S. Giovanni in Borgo of Pavia, Almenno S. Bartolomeo, Voltorre, Monastero di Capo di Ponte, S. Giovanni of Castel Seprio, Ganaceto, Lomello, S. Teodoro of Pavia, S. Ambrogio of Milan, S. Pietro di Civate, Sannazzaro Sesia. Frescos of the XIII century are extant at S. Lazaro of Pavia and at S. Sepolcro of Bologna. Frescos of the XIV century formerly existed at S. Vincenzo of Milan and are still extant at S. Stefano of Lenno, S. Abondio of Como (Plate 58, Fig. 4), Gazzo, Oleggio, Oggiono, S. Savino of Piacenza (1350), Rubbiano and S. Michele di Castelvetro. Frescos of the XV century exist at Priocca, Fontanella, Casalino, Castelletto d'Orba, Montecchia di Crosara (1400), Cemmo (1437), Marentino (1450), Pieve di Novi Ligure (1474, signed by Manfredino de Bosilio), S. Alberto di Pizzo Corno (1484), Rivalta Scrivia (1490, signed by Franceschini), and Maderno (1499). Frescos of the XVI century may be found at Ranverso, Varese, Portocomaro, Roffeno (school of Luini?), S. Maria del Solario of Brescia (Plate 32, Fig. 3) and Vaprio d'Adda (Plate 213, Fig. 1, 5).

PART IV. ICONOGRAPHY

Book I. The Mirror of Nature

CHAPTER I. CHARACTERISTICS OF LOMBARD ICONOGRAPHY

The only treatise on mediæval iconography which in any measure approaches completeness is M. Mâle's study of the religious art of France in the XIII century. In the composition of this admirable work the author has followed the example set by the XIV century encyclopædist, Vincent de Beauvais, dividing his subject according to the four Mirrors of Nature, Science, Morals and History, which, in the view of the Middle Ages, included the entire cycle of human knowledge. It would doubtless be pressing the point too far to suppose any very direct connection between the XII century art of Italy and the XIV century encyclopædist of France. Nevertheless, the classification of the four mirrors is mediæval, and also the most convenient that can be devised. I shall, therefore, not hesitate to adopt it, and the more so, since by so doing it will be easier to compare Lombard iconography with the parallel principles in France as described by M. Mâle.

First of all we must recognize that when we speak of Lombard iconography we are not speaking of one thing, but of several things. During the centuries which pass under our survey the art of image writing passed from an extremely crude and embryonic stage to a point of development that in some respects is almost the equal of that attained in the Ile-de-France. We have to do, therefore, with an art which is continually growing. What is true in one age will not necessarily be true in another age. We shall be obliged not only to discover what were the subjects represented, but at what time they first appear, and what changes were subsequently wrought in the manner

of representation. As a general rule there is comparatively little serious iconography anterior to the year 1100 extant in Lombardy. During the XII century the art of image writing underwent a remarkable evolution, but it was only at the very end of the XII century that it attained its full development.

Another point of cardinal importance which must be borne in mind in the study of Lombard iconography is the fact that the frescoed decorations of the walls and the mosaics of the pavements formed an essential and vital part of the iconographic scheme of the Lombard church. Since the former have almost entirely, and the latter have very largely, perished, it is impossible for us to reconstitute any definite conception of the iconography as a whole. It is extremely probable that if we knew more of fresco decoration we should have radically to alter many of the conclusions to which the study of extant sculpture has led us. The church of S. Vincenzo at Galliano, for example, proves that a completely developed iconographic scheme in fresco was developed early in the XI century, that is to say, nearly a century before we find anything similar in sculpture. If more of the fresco decoration of the earlier centuries was extant we should doubtless discover that many subjects which now appear to have been used only at a very late date, were, in reality, depicted in fresco many centuries earlier. The iconographic scheme of the Lombard church was, moreover, extended to the tapestries and hangings, which were in use from an early period.[1] Thus the entire church from the pavement to the roof was combined into a whole of iconographic content; into a written book in which the faithful might read the entire story of redemption.[2]

[1] See the important and detailed description of a tapestry of 1193 at S. Sisto of Piacenza. (Johannis de Muzzis, *Chronicon Placentinum*, ed. Muratori, R. I. S., XVI, 623).

[2] Decorantur ecclesiæ cælaturis, picturis et tornatilibus sculpturis, quæ a tabernaculo Moysis, vel templo Salomonis formam accipiunt; sculpsit nam Moyses duo cherubim; sculpsit et Salomon, sed et parietes cælaturis, et torno, et picturis ornavit. Fiunt autem hujusmodi, ut non solum sint ornatus ecclesiarum, sed etiam litteræ laicorum. "Quæcunque enim scripta," vel sculpta sunt, "ad nostram doctrinam scripta sunt" (Rom. 15). Litteræ, inquam, rememorativæ præteritorum, indicativæ præsentium et futurorum. Præteritorum, ut historiarum et visionum; præsentium ut virtutum et

In order to render intelligible the Bible of the Poor, the Church found it essential from a very early period to adopt certain conventions. These rules of iconography never reached in Lombardy the high development that they attained in the Ile-de-France, and were never as rigidly observed. They nevertheless existed. Siccardo, bishop of Cremona, who flourished in the last half of the XII century, has left us an explanation of certain of these rules which we cannot do better than to summarize. John the Baptist, he says, is represented as a hermit. Martyrs are given the instruments of their passion—as Lawrence the grate, or Stephen, stones—or are represented with palms, for the palm is the emblem of victory, being given to those who have conquered. Just as the palm remains green in the winter time, the memory of martyrs never seres. The palm narrow at the base spreads out aloft; thus martyrs tortured on earth, are rewarded in heaven. Wherefore the psalmist says: the just shall flourish like the palm-tree.[3]

Confessors also are depicted with their appropriate attributes; bishops with mitres, abbots with cowls, doctors with books in their hands, and virgins, in reference to the parable of the gospel, with lamps. Confessors are, moreover, often given lilies, for the lily is the emblem of chastity. Sometimes other flowers and fruits are mixed with the lilies to represent the fruit of good works which springs from the roots of virtue.

Christ is represented with the nimbus and the aureole, both of which are a kind of crown, because he was three times crowned. First by His mother with the crown of mercy on the day of His conception, then by man with the crown of thorns, symbol of our sins, and finally by the Father on the day of resurrection. The aureole signifies the glory of the body that has passed to immortality. It is represented like a round shield because the psalmist says: O Lord, thou hast crowned us, as with a shield of thy good will.[4] All the saints are represented with halos,

vitiorum; futurorum ut pœnarum et præmiorum . . . picta in scalarum ascensu, ascensionem; picta in solio excelso, præsentem indicat majestatem et potestatem quasi dicatur: Data est ei omnis potestas in cœlo et in terra. (Sicardi, *Mitrale*, I, ed. Migne, *Pat. Lat.*, CCXIII, 42).

[3] Ps., xci, 13. [4] Ps., v, 13.

but the nimbus of Christ alone is inscribed with a cross, because by the cross was His flesh glorified, and we liberated from captivity to the fruition of life.

In addition there are represented the personification of many virtues. For: to one indeed, by the Spirit, is given the word of wisdom; and to another, the word of knowledge, according to the same Spirit; to another, faith in the same Spirit; to another, the grace of healing in one Spirit.[5] For charity, joy, peace, patience and magnanimity are the ornaments of holy minds. And these virtues are presented in the form of women, since they soften and nourish.

Humbler servants of Christ who have adorned the Church not by their doctrine, but only by their virtues, are depicted for the sake of example. Also the altars of the church are adorned with altar-cloths, hangings and silk embroideries, all decorated with appropriate images relating to the miracles of Christ or to future glory.[6]

The nimbus and the aureole, of which Siccardo explains so elaborately the symbolism, were probably used in Lombard iconography from the earliest times. The aureole and the cruciform nimbus appear in the altar of Ratchis (Plate 3, Fig. 2) in the first half of the VIII century.[7] The simple halo had been in use ever since the Early Christian artists had taken it over from the pagans.[8]

The law of hierarchical precedence was not always strictly followed in Lombard iconography. It has been observed by Mr. Frothingham that the place of honour according to the Byzantine tradition was to the right of the central figure, but according to the Latin tradition, to the left. In Lombardy the Byzantine tradition normally prevails, but in certain instances the Latin tradition was preferred. Thus Peter is placed to the left, not to the right, of Christ at S. Michele of Pavia, and in

[5] I Cor., xii, 8-9.

[6] Sicardi Cremonensis Episcopi, *Mitrale*, I, 12, ed. Migne, CCXIII, 42-44.

[7] The idea of an aureole was perhaps first inspired by Ezekiel, i, 27-28.

[8] In the catacomb frescos there is one doubtful instance of a nimbus dating from the II century, eight instances of the IV century and ten of later times (Lamberton in *American Journal of Archæology*, XV, 522).

the ciborii of Civate and S. Ambrogio of Milan (Plate 121, Fig. 2).

The custom of placing scenes from the Old Testament in parallel with scenes from the New Testament had been prevalent from an early period in Christian iconography. The mosaics of S. Maria Maggiore at Rome,[9] for example, are arranged on this principle. In Lombardy, however, such parallelism was but little used. Only occasionally do we find it, as when Guglielmo in the cathedral of Modena put the strife of Faith and Fraud according to Prudentius opposite Jacob wrestling with the angel (Plate 145, Fig. 1), or when Nicolò and Guglielmo da Verona placed the story of the fall of man in parallel with that of his redemption at S. Zeno (Plate 230, Fig. 1, 2). It was only under the influence of northern France that Benedetto developed this motive to something like its full possibilities, placing symmetrically apostles and prophets, beatitudes and commandments, the ages of the world, the ages of man and the works of mercy.[10]

In fact it is evident that Lombard iconography is embryonic. The principles which were later developed to such high perfection are merely taking form. Where the images are so comparatively free from allegory, it may well be doubted whether symbolic considerations exercised any real influence upon the design of the architecture. It is true that there are a number of texts giving elaborate symbolical explanations of the various parts of the building.[11] These however appear to be interpretations imagined after the building had been completed. The only intentional symbolism which can be demonstrated to have been observed by the builders was the orientation of the church. The choir or sanctuary was turned towards the east, because as Sant'Ambrogio tells us, the east in which was situated the Garden of Eden, symbolizes Christ who poured into the world the joy of eternal life.[12]

[9] For the parallelism of the Old and New Testaments, see Bede, ed. Migne, *Pat. Lat.*, XCIV, 720.

[10] For the influence of French scholastic philosophy, and especially of Hugh of St. Victor in Italy, see Salimbene, ad ann. 1243, ed. Parma, 1857, 59.

[11] See especially Sicardi, *Mitrale*, ed. Migne, *Pat. Lat.*, CCXIII, 19, 20.

[12] S. Ambrosii, *Liber de Paradiso*, 3, ed. Migne, *Pat. Lat.*, XIV, 300.

CHAPTER II. BESTIARY ANIMALS

The Middle Age, perhaps more than any other period, was fascinated by animals, and especially fabulous animals. As writers of to-day love to compose unnatural histories, the mediæval authors, and the artists as well, brooded long and thoughtfully over the forms of animal life. When means of accurate information were lacking, they, just as we moderns, resorted to tradition, to conjecture and to imagination, with this difference, however, that their flights of fancy were infinitely more poetic and finer than ours.

The Lombard period may be considered the childhood of the Middle Ages, and as unusual beasts exercise a peculiar fascination over the imagination of children, the people of that age seem to have felt an extraordinary curiosity and enthusiasm for all that was bizarre in animal life. The taste, it is true, was not new with them. Long before, the Physiologus had compiled those strange stories of the bestiaries in which were gathered together from Antiquity and the early Middle Ages their most fabulous and poetic imaginings upon the world of nature. Grave doctors of the church, like St. Ambrose[1] and Isidore of Seville[2] had sententiously moralized upon these extravagant stories, and had embellished them with ingenious symbolic interpretations.

From time to time exotic animals were brought into Italy, and awakened the liveliest interest as is diligently recorded by the chroniclers. Wild horses and wild cattle caused much stir as early as 595.[3] An elephant was brought to Vercelli in 801.[4] Salimbene records that in 1229 a veritable menagerie was col-

[1] S. Ambrosii, *Hexæmeron*, Lib. V, ed. Migne, *Pat. Lat.*, XIV, 219 f.

[2] *Etymologiarum*, Lib. XII, ed. Migne, *Pat. Lat.*, LXXXII, 423.

[3] Tum primum equi syluestres et bubali in Italiã adducti ingens ipsius rei nouitate spectaculum præbuerunt. (Sigonio, 35).

[4] Sigonio, 160.

lected.[5] In 1235 the emperor Frederick II sent to Lombardy an elephant, several dromedaries and camels, many leopards, many falcons and hawks. The delighted chroniclers devote as much space to the description of these wonders as to the most important events of world politics, and Salimbene solemnly assures us that he actually beheld them with his own eyes.[6]

In view of this temper of the Lombard people it is not surprising that the Lombard artists occupied themselves much with the representation of animals, especially as such subjects were particularly congenial to the wild and fantastic character of their art. These representations were not infrequently inspired by the bestiaries.

The asp or aspic, according to the bestiary, is a serpent whom man tries to catch by singing to him. But the aspic (who is a symbol of sinful man) presses one ear to the ground (that is, worldly desires) and stops the other with his tail (carnal pleasures). Thus he does not hear the voice of the entrapper (the preacher). According to another version, the female receives the semen of the male in her ear, and from her ear the young are born. Thus the infidels receive willingly the word of God, but disobediently alter and disguise what they have heard.

The basilisk has such a nature that when he has passed the seventh year of his age, he feels an egg grow in his stomach. Thereupon he is amazed at himself, and suffers the greatest pain a beast can suffer. So he goes and digs a hole in the ground. The toad is of such a nature that he smells the egg which the basilisk carries, and as soon as it is laid, goes to cover it. The young basilisk hatches out with the head, neck and breast of a cock and the tail of a serpent. He then goes to live in a crack in a cistern. Here he acquires such a nature that if a man see him first, he dies; but if he see the man first, the man dies. He throws his venom, and kills birds. This animal, like the lion, is formidable and powerful, and if he passes along the ground, wherever he goes the soil becomes barren. Yet the beast is beautiful. He is in fact the symbol of the Devil, and is the very

[5] Ad ann. 1229, ed. Parma, 1857, 17. [6] Ed. Parma, 1857, 47.

serpent who tempted Adam and Eve, for which he was banished from Paradise into the cistern of Hell. Who wants to kill the basilisk must cover himself with a crystal of glass, so that the beast cannot see what is in it, for he throws his poison with his eyes, and if it strikes against the glass it rebounds upon the basilisk himself. The vessel of glass signifies the Virgin in whose womb Christ was enclosed.[7]

The aspic and the basilisk are represented together so far as I know only once in Lombard iconography—in the Porta Reggia of the cathedral of Modena, a monument which dates from the XIII century. They are associated with the lion and the dragon, and above is inscribed the familiar quotation: Thou shalt walk upon the asp and the basilisk, thou shalt trample under foot the lion and the dragon.[8] The basilisk is represented with a cock's head, wings and feet, a serpent's tail. The aspic has an animal's head, bird's wing and serpent's tail. He is not represented as stopping his ears. It is evidently this same animal, the aspic, that is shown as being trampled upon by the Lamb in the Porta dei Principi of this same cathedral (c. 1120). In both cases the symbolism is evidently similar; it is Christ who overcomes sin. The dragon is depicted in the Porta Reggia in an almost identical form.[9]

Of all classical animals there was none which impressed the Middle Ages as profoundly as the centaur. This grotesque figure, half man, half horse, was particularly congenial to the artists of Lombardy, always barbaric at heart. The centaur which gave its name also to a constellation[10] (represented by Nicolò at Sagra S. Michele) was interpreted symbolically by the Christians.[11] It even became the subject of a bestiary story,

[7] Cahier et Martin, IV, 213. My friend Prof. Milton Garver informs me that in the Italian bestiaries the aspic is represented as guarding the balsam tree. He is so cruel that man can not approach to get the balsam, wherefore he tries to put the aspic asleep by music, but the beast is too cute, and sticks his tail in one ear and puts the other tight to the ground so that he can not hear. He is likened to people who stop their ears so that they do not hear the word of God.

[8] Ps., xc, 13. [9] See also Is., xi, 8.

[10] Isidore of Seville, *Etymologiarum*, III, 81, ed. Migne, *Pat. Lat.*, LXXXII, 182.

[11] Isidore of Seville, *Allegoriæ*, 152, ed. Migne, *Pat. Lat.*, LXXXIII, 118; Evans, 317; Dante, *Inferno*, XII, 55 f.

which relates how the centaur wages war against a race of horned men, and is a symbol of the Christian.[12] It is evidently this bestiary story which is depicted in the pavement of the Campo Santo at Cremona (Plate 85, Fig. 1). The centaur is represented not as half man, half horse, but as a man with a horse's head. His opponent has not only horns but a tail. In this mosaic there appears to be intentional parallelism between the figure of the centaur and Faith in the Psychomachia just below. In the pavement of Bobbio the centaur is represented as at Cremona, but his opponent is not the horned man of the bestiary story but the Chimæra. In a capital of Vezzolano (1189) a centaur of the usual form is represented as shooting a man with a shield. This also probably has reference to the bestiary story. Generally, however, the centaurs (possibly by confusion with Sagittarius) shoot animals—stags at S. Maria del Tiglio of Gravedona—c. 1135—(Plate 100, Fig. 2) and in a capital of the cathedral of Parma (c. 1130-1150), a lion with a man's head in the Porta dei Principi at Modena (c. 1120).[13] At Fornovo (c. 1200) a centaur shooting arrows is represented as ridden by another figure which holds arrows. The centaur is also very frequently represented alone, as in the capital of S. Ambrogio of Milan (Plate 120, Fig. 3), in the mosaic of S. Savino of Piacenza (1107), in the capitals of S. Eustorgio of Milan (Plate 127, Fig. 5), of Piacenza (1122-c. 1150) or of Parma (c. 1130-1150) or in the pontile of S. Zeno of Verona.

The camel described by Isidore of Seville[14] is, according to the bestiaries, the most luxurious of all animals. He willingly journeys a hundred miles merely to see a female, yet he has so much moderation and temperance in his character, that no matter how much he is with his mother or sisters he never touches them.

[12] Martin et Cahier, IV, 76.

[13] Centaurs are represented shooting lions at St.-Trophimes of Arles, St.-Gilles, and in the crucifixion window of Poitiers. In the latter instance, however, the beast shot may not be a lion. At St.-Gilles the centaur is also represented shooting a stag (Plate 229, Fig. 1).

[14] *Etymologiarum*, XII, 4, ed. Migne, *Pat. Lat.*, LXXXII, 429.

He moreover possesses a singular desire to return to that place where he has first enjoyed sexual intercourse.[15]

The camel is represented twice in extant Lombard monuments. In the mosaic of the cathedral of Acqui, executed in 1067, he is shown as being shot by a man with bow and arrow. This fantastic representation seems to have nothing to do with the animal stories. The second representation in the mosaic of the Campo Santo of Cremona (1107-1117) may have been inspired by the legends or even by the animal itself, since it is not impossible that camels may have come to Cremona before 1235.

The bestiary tells us that the stag is of such a nature that he draws to himself from underground, or from the crevices of the rock, great serpents, and eats them, and takes much of their venom into his body. Afterwards he goes with great eagerness to a fountain, and fills his belly with water, and thus he overcomes the poison and makes himself young, and sheds his horns. Thus ought also we to do when there is in us luxury or hate or wrath or avarice or other sins; we should run to the living fountain, that is, to Christ.[16] Stags are represented eating serpents in a carved slab of the cathedral of Aosta which dates from c. 1010 (Plate 12, Fig. 1).

The dog was an animal which drew much attention from almost all the mediæval writers on animals.[17] In general the fidelity of the animal is insisted upon, and this trait possibly gives some indication of the meaning of the fragmentary inscription of the mosaic at S. Savino of Piacenza (1107), which ends with the exclamation, *pessime tu fur.* Above the inscription are represented two dogs, their necks embraced by a single collar, their tails in their mouths (Plate 183). In the pavement of the Campo Santo at Cremona (1107-1117) are represented two similar dogs standing on their hind legs, their necks encircled

[15] *Fiore di Virtù,* Cap. 27; Bartholomæus de Glanvilla, XVIII, 18; Vincent de Beauvais, XVIII, 25; Varnhagen, 534.

[16] M. S. Garver, K. McKenzie, *Il Bestiario Toscano,* Roma, Società Filologica Romana, 1912, 66.

[17] S. Ambrosii, *Hexameron,* VI, 6, 17, ed. Migne, *Pat. Lat.,* XIV, 263; Isidore of Seville, *Etymologiarum,* XII, 2, ed. Migne, *Pat. Lat.,* LXXXII, 438; Cahier et Martin, IV, 75; Garver, McKenzie, *op. cit.,* 28.

by a single collar (Plate 85, Fig. 2). Next to them are two other dogs facing each other with entwined tails which end in leaves (Plate 85, Fig. 2). In the mosaic of S. Pietro in Ciel d'Oro of Pavia (1132) there are also represented two dogs on their hind legs. It is evident, therefore, that the motive was a frequent one in Lombard mosaics. I have been able however to find nothing in the bestiaries to explain such representations; it is entirely possible that, as in the case of the cat on the capital of Piacenza (1122-1150), the artists were merely extemporizing on natural forms.

According to the bestiary the eagle has two natures. The first is that he makes trial of his little ones to see if they can fix their eyes upon the sun, as he is able to do, and if they can, he knows that they are his veritable offspring. The second nature is that when he is old, he flies as high in the air as he can, so that the heat of the sun burns all his feathers. Then he plunges himself three times in a fountain, and thus his youth is renewed. The eagle who looks at the sun is the symbol of man who beholds God. Therefore, the evangelist St. John is represented as an eagle, because he more than any other beheld the divine mystery. As the eagle renews his youth in the fountain, thus is the faith of man renewed by baptism.[18]

In Lombard iconography the eagle is frequently represented, though never with unmistakable reference to the bestiary stories. He appears most commonly as a symbol of the evangelist St. John.[19] He is also often represented in capitals of Corinthianesque type dating from the end of the XI or the XII century, as at Calvenzano, Montefiascone (Plate 151, Fig. 2), S. Fedele of Como (Plate 63, Fig. 8), S. Maria Maggiore of Bergamo (Plate 22, Fig. 7), and in many other examples. Whether the eagles in such capitals have reference to the bestiary story, or are merely copied from Roman capitals (for eagles were frequently introduced in classic Corinthian capitals) it is difficult to say. In the pavement of S. Tommaso of Reggio an eagle was represented and labelled (c. 1110).

Of all the bestiary animals the elephant is perhaps the most

[18] Garver, McKenzie, *op. cit.*, 57. [19] See below, p. 341.

remarkable. This peculiar beast is deprived of both sexual desire and joints in his legs. If he wants to make little ones, he goes to the East near the Garden of Eden. There grows a tree which is called Mandragora, and the female elephant takes of the tree, and gives it to the male, and seduces him to eat. Immediately the female conceives. When her time is fulfilled, she goes to a pool and stands in water up to her belly. The male elephant watches her while she brings forth, since the dragon is their enemy. If a serpent comes, the male elephant tramples upon him until he is dead. Moreover, such is the nature of the elephant, that if he falls he can not rise. How does he fall? When he leans against a tree to sleep. For the hunter who wishes to catch him, saws the tree nearly through, so that if the elephant leans against it the tree falls and the elephant too. When he has fallen, he weeps and cries out. Immediately a great elephant comes, but can not raise him; then both call and twelve more elephants come, but still can not raise the one who has fallen. Then all cry out, and a little elephant comes and raises the fallen one with his trunk. The big elephant and his wife are Adam and Eve who knew not copulation until Eve ate of the fruit of the tree. And the elephant who falls is man who is overthrown by the Devil, and the great elephant, that is to say the law, could not raise him, nor could the twelve prophets, but only the Child Jesus.[20]

The elephant is not infrequently represented in Lombard iconography. He appears on a capital of Castell'Arquato (1117-1122), and in the mosaic pavements of Pomposa, Cremona (1107-1117) and Aosta (c. 1110). In the latter example the front legs are shown distinctly without joints. In addition there are two singular representations of the elephant carrying a tower or castle on his back, one in the mosaic pavement of S. Salutore of Turin, the other in the pontile of S. Zeno of Verona. I have to confess that I am unable to explain the meaning of these representations. It will be recalled that an elephant carrying a castle occurs on the coat of arms of the city of Padova, and that this form is frequently given to the castle in the game of chess.

[20] Martin et Cahier, IV, 57.

According to the Italian bestiary the fox has such a nature that when he is hungry he goes to a field, and lies down on his back, and sticks out his tongue; and when the crows and rooks see him they believe he is dead, and come to eat him. But the fox opens his mouth and eats them instead.[21]

It seems to be an elaboration of this story that is found in the *Roman du Renard.* Renard the fox, ill with rage and mortification at having lost all, including even his clothes, at game, takes to his bed. He revives to eat a little supper, and takes a warm bath, but nevertheless sends for Bernart, the archpriest, to administer extreme unction. He appears to grow steadily worse, and seems to be dying. Messengers are sent in all directions, and the mourners assemble. Bernart officiates at the vigils assisted by Tibert the cat, Chantecler the cock, Brun the bear, Pinte the hen, and others. The animals soon grow weary at the wake. First they begin to quarrel, then they decide to play and drink. At daybreak Bernart has the bells tolled, and the body of Renard is carried to the minster and laid before the altar. Bernart preaches a sermon full of delicious satire praising Renard's upright and honest character. The king commands Brun the bear to dig the grave for Renard. Chantecler censes the body. Brichemer the stag carries the bier, and Ysengrins the wolf precedes bearing the cross. Couart the hare, and Tibert carry lighted candles. The corpse is lowered into the grave and Brun has just begun to throw in earth, when Renard opens his eyes. He suddenly jumps out of the grave, and devours Chantecler censer and all.[22]

Closely related to these stories was a fable which must have been extremely popular in Lombardy in the XII century, since it is frequently sculptured on the churches. Chickens in stately procession are seen carrying a dead fox on a bier, but in a subsequent scene the fox comes to life and eats the chickens. This legend was represented twice on the pontile (c. 1190), and onee on the façade (1138) of S. Zeno at Verona, in the pavement of S. Maria Maggiore of Vercelli·(1148), and in the Porta della

[21] Garver, McKenzie, *op. cit.,* 61. See also Varnhagen, 530.
[22] Branch XVII, *Roman du Renard,* ed. Martin, II, 197 f.

Peseheria (c. 1160) of the cathedral of Modena (Plate 144, Fig. 3). It is also common outside of Lombardy, being found in the pavements of S. Donato of Murano,[23] and S. Marco of Venice and in the sculptures of St.-Ursin at Bourges.[24] The sculptures at Marienhafen seem to follow almost exactly the story in the *Roman du Renard.*[25] It is indeed probable that the stories afterwards collected in the *Roman* were current in Europe from an early period. They appear to have been represented in the pavement of Aequanegra (c. 1100), although the fragmentary condition of this mosaic unfortunately makes it impossible to identify with certainty the scenes depicted. The two cocks represented facing a vase in the lintel of Castelletto d'Orba (c. 1130) are doubtless purely decorative and fanciful, and have no reference to animal stories.

The lion, according to the bestiaries, has three natures. First, he lives among the mountains and when the hunters come upon him he obliterates his tracks with his tail so they can not follow him to his den. Thus Our Lord, the lion of the tribe of Juda, covered His tracks, that is, concealed His divinity, until He descended into the womb of the Virgin, that is, His den. The second nature of the lion is that he sleeps with his eyes open. Thus Christ slept upon the cross and in the tomb, but His divinity watched.[26] The third nature of the lion is that his little ones are born dead, and remain thus for three days, when the father comes and breathes upon them. Then the little lions come to life. Thus Christ rose on the third day from death at the command of His Father.

Thus a lion was generally understood as a symbol of Christ.[27] It is probably for this reason that from the time of Guglielmo da Modena onwards, lions were used as bases for the columns of Lombard porches. For it is on Christ that the Church is founded. The two lions which support the columns of the Lombard porch of the Pfarrkirche at Bozen (Austria) are of

[23] Aus'm Weerth, 16.
[24] Cahier et Martin, *Nouveaux Mélanges, Curiosités,* 222 f.
[25] Evans, 235. [26] Cahier et Martin, II, 106 f.
[27] Sicardi, *Mitrale,* I, 12, ed. Migne, *Pat. Lat.,* CCXIII, 41.

Verona marble, and were probably manufactured in Lombardy early in the XIII century. At the base of the jambs on the south side is carved a lion pouncing upon an asp. The asp, as we have seen, is the symbol of sin, so the lion who destroys the asp is Christ who overcomes sin. An unintelligent copy of figures with this symbolism perhaps resulted in the production of the curious animals seen in many Lombard porches. Both the lion and the animal he holds in his paws undergo many fantastic, and apparently unmeaning, variations.

The ostrich, according to the bestiary, lays her egg in the sand, and fixes her eye upon a certain star in the heavens, and when she has seen the star, she forgets about her egg, which is hatched out by the power of the sun. In this the ostrich teaches man what he should do; for we ought to raise our eyes to heaven, and forget the vainglory of the world.[28] The ostrich is represented in the pavement of the Campo Santo of Cremona (Plate 85, Fig. 2), a monument which dates from 1107-1117.

The bestiary tells us that when the panther cries, all animals excepting serpents alone come to her, and when they have come she takes those that she pleases and eats them. Thus, the preacher draws to himself all good men, but wicked men like the serpents flee. The bestiary story of the panther[29] is represented in the pavement of the Duomo of Reggio (c. 1090). In the same pavement was probably depicted also the leopard, which, according to the bestiaries, was endowed with equally marvellous characteristics.[30]

According to the bestiaries the peacock wakes from his sleep to cry, believing his beauty lost,[31] and is the symbol of prudence. In Lombard iconography, however, he appears only in Carlovingian carvings, that is to say, before the year 1000, and was probably merely a decorative imitation of the symbolical figures so frequently used in Early Christian art.[32] It is thus for example that the peacock seems to be used at Ferrara (Plate 88,

[28] Garver, McKenzie, *op. cit.*, 59.
[29] Garver, McKenzie, *op. cit.*, 42.
[30] Garver, McKenzie, *op. cit.*, 85.
[31] Cahier et Martin, II, 161.
[32] The peacock is represented twenty-two times in catacomb frescos of the I-IV centuries. See Lamberton in *American Journal of Archæology*, XV, 518.

Fig. 4), Villanova (Plate 241, Fig. 1) and in the sarcophagus of Teodote (Plate 167, Fig. 1).

The pelican has such a nature that she kills her little ones and they lie dead for three days, and after this she comes and pecks her side and anoints them with her blood. Thereupon the little ones are revived. The pelican is a symbol of the Creator who redeemed fallen humanity by His blood.[33] The story of the pelican, so common in mediæval art, appears to have been represented in Lombardy much less frequently than elsewhere. The only extant example I know is to be found in the pulpit of S. Ambrogio at Milan. The theme was formerly represented in the destroyed pavement of Novara.

The phœnix, according to the bestiaries, lives for five hundred years, and when she is old, she goes and gathers wood and builds a pyre in a place where the sun is very hot. Then she goes within this pyre and beats her wings, and thus she kindles the wood, and she burns, and from the ashes is born a worm which afterwards becomes a phœnix. The phœnix is thus the symbol of immortality.[34] She is represented seated in a palm-tree in a Carlovingian sculpture of Modena.[35]

The Italian bestiary tells us that the siren is a creature half woman, half fish. She has so sweet a song that when a man hears it, he falls asleep, and when the siren sees him asleep she comes upon him and kills him. The siren is a symbol of those women who deceive men that become enamoured of them.[36] Sirens were therefore symbols of the vice of luxury. A siren sculptured upon a capital of S. Giovanni in Borgo of Pavia (c. 1120) is represented with breasts eaten by serpents, like the personification of Luxury in the porch of Moissac (Plate 94, Fig. 5). The siren was very frequently represented on Lombard capitals of the last quarter of the XI century and the first half of the XII century,

[33] Garver, McKenzie, *op. cit.*, 51. [34] Garver, McKenzie, *op. cit.*, 51.

[35] Bortolotti, Tav. II, n. 9, and p. 95. In Greek the same word, φοῖνιξ, signified both the phœnix and the palm-tree. Thus the two came to be associated as symbols of immortality (Evans, 127-128).

[36] Garver, McKenzie, *op. cit.*, 37; Varnhagen, 525-526; Evans, 314; Martin et Cahier, II, 172; Isidore of Seville, *Etymologiarum*, XII, 3, ed. Migne, *Pat. Lat.*, LXXXII, 423; Is., xiii, 22; Enoch, xix, 2.

as at Sagra S. Michele (Plate 196A, Fig. 1), Cascina S. Trinità, the cathedral of Parma and many other instances that might be named. They are depicted also in the mosaic pavements of the Duomo of Reggio, of Pieve Terzagni and S. Salutore of Turin, as well as in the arched corbel-tables of Rubbiano.

The unicorn, according to the bestiaries, although the fiercest of animals is so luxurious that when he sees a virgin, he goes and throws himself in her lap and thus falls asleep. It is in this manner that the hunters take him and kill him. Thus Christ was taken by the hunter, man, in the womb of the Virgin, Mary.[37] The story of the unicorn is represented several times in Lombard iconography—at Lodi Vecchio ? (c. 1050), in the mosaic of S. Savino of Piacenza—1107—(Plate 186, Fig. 8), in the mosaic of Aosta (c. 1110), in the pavement of S. Benedetto Po (1151), and in the reliefs of the baptistery of Parma.

[37] Garver, McKenzie, *op. cit.*, 41; Cahier et Martin, II, 220; Cahier et Martin, *Nouveaux Mélanges, Curiosités,* 132; *Fiore di Virtù,* Cap. 28; Varnhagen, 535.

CHAPTER III. ANIMALS OF CLASSICAL AND MEDIÆVAL MYTHS AND FABLES

There can be little doubt that classic mythology continued to live to a much greater extent in Lombardy than in France, and exercised a much more vital influence upon the iconography.[1] In Early Christian times a symbolic interpretation had frequently been given to figures of pagan mythology. Thus in the catacomb frescos Orpheus became the symbol of the grace of Christ,[2] just as in Michelangelo's ceiling the sibyls become Christian prophets. In Lombardy, however, the stories of classical myths seemed to have been told generally without mysticism, and in a spirit as purely pagan as that shown by Giovanni Pisano when he sculptured on the fountain of Perugia the fables of the lion and the mouse, Romulus and Remus, and the wolf and the lamb. The war chant of the Modenese sentinels, which is believed to date from the X century, contains allusions to Hector and Troy.[3] A person mentioned in a document of 1148 was named Achilles.[4] It therefore causes somewhat less surprise to observe that the classical hero of this name was represented in a mosaic pavement of S. Prospero at Reggio in 1148, and that the flight of Icarus was depicted in the pavement of Acqui in 1067.

Few classical myths found greater favour with the Middle Ages than the labyrinth. As early as the time of Boethius it had become the symbol of error.[5] An inscription in the now destroyed portion of the mosaic pavements of S. Savino of Piacenza

[1] The story of Pyramus and Thisbe is represented in a French ivory-carving of the XIV century in the Morgan collection, Gallery 12, Case 1.

[2] Evans, 302; Lamberton in *American Journal of Archæology*, XV, 513.

[3] Symonds, *Age of the Despots*, 53.

[4] See document cited below under S. Prospero of Reggio, Vol. III, p. 313.

[5] *Phil. Consol.*, III, 12.

explained at length the symbolism of the labyrinth there represented. It was a type of the world in which it is easy to enter, but from which it is difficult to escape. For he who has embraced the joys of the flesh, and is weighed down by sin, can with difficulty retrace his steps. In the mosaic of Piacenza (1107), as in that of S. Michele of Pavia, Theseus and the minotaur were represented in the labyrinth. It is notable that in both these pavements was also represented the cycle of the months and the sea, subjects which had a similar symbolic significance. Outside of Lombardy, the labyrinth is represented on the southern pilaster of the west portico of the cathedral of Lucca. The long inscription gives the classical story, but makes no reference to the allegorical interpretation. Labyrinths formerly existed in the pavements of St. Severin of Cologne[6] and in the churches of St.-Omer, Reims, Bayeux, Sens, Chartres, St.-Quentin, and Amiens.[7]

Isidore of Seville explains that the three heads of the dog Cerberus signify the three ages in which death may destroy man, that is to say, in infancy, youth and old age.[8] It is not clear, however, that the artist who represented Cerberus in the pavement of Acquanegra had in mind any such symbolical interpretation. It is possible nevertheless that the pavement of Acquanegra was inspired by Isidore, for in addition to Cerberus there is also represented the hydra which is likewise described by the same father.[9]

A variation of the centaur, hydra or Chimæra theme appears to be represented in the pavement of the Duomo at Reggio, in which we see a man with hatchet cleaving the head of a monster with horse's head and fore-paws, serpent's tail and snake's tongue.

According to classical authors the Chimæra had three heads, one that of a lion, another that of a goat, and the third that of a dragon. Isidore of Seville gives the animal the same characteristics.[10] At S. Pietro di Civate (c. 1195) the Chimæra is thus

[6] Aus'm Weerth, 15. [7] Gailhabaut, I, Plate I; II.

[8] Isidore of Seville, *Etymologiarum,* XII, 3, ed. Migne, *Pat. Lat.,* LXXXII, 423.

[9] *Ibid.;* also *ibid.,* 4, ed. M., 445.

[10] Isidore of Seville, *Etymologiarum,* XII, 3, ed. Migne, *Pat. Lat.,* LXXXII, 423.

represented, but the serpent's head grows from the end of its tail, so that the monster appears to have only two heads. In the mosaic of Aosta it is given only two heads, those of the goat and the lion. This is the form in which it appears generally in Lombard iconography, as in the mosaics of S. Pietro of Ciel d'Oro and Bobbio.

Hercules is represented with the Nemean lion in a sculpture of Borgo dating from c. 1135. An inscription leaves no doubt as to the identity of this figure. The man with a club depicted in the mosaic pavement of S. Prospero of Reggio (1148) may also be Hercules. On the cathedral of Modena is a sculpture of a hermaphrodite, in its present form dating from the XV century, but doubtless a copy of an original relief of the XII century. This recalls Baudri's description of a tapestry in the bed-chamber of Adele, daughter of William the Conqueror.[11] Among other mythological subjects represented is mentioned the hermaphrodite. The cupids with reversed torches on the façade of the cathedral of Modena (Plate 142, Fig. 2) are evidently copied from an ancient Roman sarcophagus.[12]

The sphinx, commemorated by Isidore of Seville,[13] is twice represented in the Porta della Peseheria at Modena (1099-1106).

In the pavement of the cathedral of Casale (c. 1140) is represented a curious figure which is labelled Antipodes. According to Pliny[14] there was fabled to be on the under side of the world a race of men who walked about with their feet uppermost. These antipodes the artist of Casale seems to have confused with the sciapodes, men with a single eye and a single leg, wonderfully skilled in jumping, and who were accustomed in the heat of the day to lie on their back and shade themselves with their foot as with a parasol. At all events it is in this form that he has represented the antipodes.[15]

In the pavement at Casale is also represented an acephalus,

[11] L. 194, ed. Delisle.

[12] See Elizabeth Hazelton Haight, *The Story of Cupid and Psyche,* in *Art and Archæology,* III, 51.

[13] *Etymologiarum,* XII, 2, ed. Migne, *Pat. Lat.,* LXXXII, 439.

[14] *Nat. Hist.,* II, 65, § 161, ed. Teubner, I, 188.

[15] A sciapodes is represented at Sens. (*Monographie,* 16).

a figure apparently inspired by the description of Isidore of Seville,[16] and represented like a headless man.

The fox and stork figure in two beast fables of classical origin represented in Lombard art. The first is a story of the crane pulling the bone out of the fox's throat. This is depicted in the cathedral of Modena on the Porta dei Principi (c. 1120), and possibly also on the Porta della Pescheria—1099-1106—(Plate 144, Fig. 3). It is also represented on a capital of Panico (c. 1145).[17] The second fable tells how the fox invited the stork to dine, and served the food out of a shallow dish, from which the stork was unable to eat. The stork returned the compliment by inviting the fox to dine out of a narrow-mouthed jar. This story is represented on the Porta della Pescheria of Modena (1099-1106), and on a capital of a cloister of S. Orso at Aosta (1133).[18]

Isidore of Seville relates that the cranes are enemies of serpents, and that they fly across the sea and form their battle line in Asia.[19] Cranes are represented killing serpents at S. Michele of Pavia (c. 1100), in the Porta della Pescheria at Modena—1099-1106—(Plate 144, Fig. 3), and in the pontile of S. Zeno of Verona (c. 1190).

Among the most interesting sculptures of Lombardy from an iconographical standpoint are those in which are represented scenes from a folk-tale relating to the wolf, which has not come down to us. The story, evidently full of sly satire, was directed against the priests. To a singular degree it seems to presage the spirit of a later age, the anti-clerical satires that paved the way for the Lutheran revolt. On a capital of the cathedral of Parma (c. 1130-1150) is represented a wolf dressed as a monk with cowl and cassock (Plate 166, Fig. 2). As the inscription informs us, he is engaged in teaching the Christian dogma out of a book to a silly looking ass who sits on his hind legs and holds

[16] See below, Vol. II, p. 254.

[17] For the representations of this subject in the cathedrals of Autun and Paderborn and the symbolical interpretation, see Evans, 209.

[18] According to Evans, 209, it is also represented in the cathedral of Paderborn. It was sculptured by Giovanni Pisano on the fountain of Perugia.

[19] *Etymologiarum,* XII, 7, ed. Migne, *Pat. Lat.,* LXXXII, 461.

between his front paws the staff of pedagogy. Another wolf behind the monk seems to be tapping him on the shoulder and calling his attention to an unseen lamb which doubtless offers a tempting repast. The satire could hardly be more explicit. The greed of the priests and the foolishness of their dupes are openly satirized in the church-building itself.

It is probably a variation of this same fabliau which is represented in the cathedrals of Ferrara and Verona (Plate 217, Fig. 2). Here is seen again the wolf dressed as a monk and holding a book. This book bears the satirical inscription "A B C for Heaven."

The parable of the bicorn from the legend of St. Barlaam is represented in the baptistery of Parma.[20] Other beast fables, the exact significance of which escapes me, are represented at S. Michele at Pavia and in the Porta dei Principi at Modena. In the latter one relief represents a man (Orpheus ?) fiddling, while a bird listens attentively.

[20] See below, Vol. III, pp. 144 f., for the details of this story.

CHAPTER IV. BIBLICAL ANIMALS

Of the animals in Lombard iconography inspired by the Scriptures undoubtedly the most frequently depicted are the winged man of St. Matthew, the winged lion of St. Mark, the winged bull of St. Luke and the eagle of St. John. These mystic beasts inspired by the vision of Ezekiel[1] and the Apocalypse[2] had been established in Christian dogma by the fathers of the Church.[3] Although the subject is represented but once among the frescos of the catacombs,[4] the symbols of the Evangelists appear in art at an early period. In northern Italy they were represented in the VIII century in the baptistery of Cividale (Plate 59, Fig. 3). In the XII century they became a favourite subject in Lombard iconography. The figures are often represented holding books on which are inscriptions almost invariably the same. Those of Matthew and John are taken from the first words of their respective gospels and are: *Liber generationis Jesu Christi filii David;* and: *In principio erat verbum, et verbum erat apud Deum, et Deus erat verbum.* Luke has an inscription taken from the fifth verse of the first chapter of his gospel: *Fuit in diebus Herodis, regis Judææ;* while that of Mark is taken either from the second (*Ecce ego mitto Angelum meum*), or the third (*Vox clamantis in deserto*) verse of the first chapter of his gospel. I presume that these inscriptions are derived from Byzantine tradition, since they are found on an ivory-carving of Byzantine origin in the Morgan collection.[5] In Lombard iconography the figures of the Evangelists are either disposed about the Deity, or are represented by themselves, especially on capitals and ambones.[6]

[1] Ezec., i, 5-12. [2] Apoc., v, 6; iv, 1-7.

[3] See, *e.g.,* St. Augustine, *De Consensu Evangelistarum,* Lib. I, Cap. VI, ed. Migne, *Pat. Lat.,* XXXIV, 1046.

[4] See Lamberton, in *American Journal of Archæology,* XV, 521. [5] Case L.

[6] The symbolic beasts of the Evangelists are represented on a capital of the crypt

In the cathedrals of Verona and Ferrara, Nicolò sculptured, as supports for his Lombard porches, griffins on whose sides are inscribed wheels. This is usually said to be in reference to the well known passage of Ezekiel.[7] The interpretation appears to me extremely doubtful, but I am unable to propose any more probable explanation.

The Lamb of God (*Agnus Dei*) bearing a cross is represented in a carved slab of the cathedral of Aosta dating from c. 1010 (Plate 12, Fig. 1). The same subject reappears at S. Michele of Pavia (c. 1100), but the Lamb is accompanied by two angels. In the Porta dei Principi of the cathedral of Modena (c. 1120) not only is the Lamb accompanied by two angels, but he tramples on the aspic. The subject is repeated at S. Zeno of Verona (1138) and in the baptistery of Parma (1196-1214). In the former case the sculpture is accompanied by a paraphrase of the familiar text from John,[8] leaving no doubt as to the significance.

According to St. Ambrose fish were the symbol, not of Christ as was believed by the Early Church, but of a man.[9] In speaking of the creation of the sea the saint calls to mind the

of Modena (1099-1106), in the mosaic pavement of Pieve Terzagni (c. 1100), on a sarcophagus in the crypt of S. Zeno of Verona (c. 1100), at Cremona (1107-1117), in the pavement of the cathedral of Aosta (c. 1100), on the ambo of Quarantoli (1114), on the ambo of S. Giacomò of Bellagio—c. 1115—(Plate 22, Fig. 1, 2), on the ambo of Isola S. Giulio (c. 1120), in the tympanum of Nonantola (1121), in the pavement of Novara (c. 1125), on the ambo of Sasso (c. 1125, Mark and Luke are lacking), on a capital of Cavana, on the ambo of the Madonna del Castello, at Almenno S. Salvatore—c. 1130—(Plate 11, Fig. 6), on two capitals of the cathedral of Parma (c. 1130-1150), on a capital at Almenno S. Bartolomeo (c. 1140), on a capital of S. Salvatore of Brescia—c. 1160—(Plate 36, Fig. 8), on the ambo of S. Sepolcro of Bologna (c. 1170), on the façade of the cathedral of Modena (c. 1180), on a capital at Borgo (1184-1196), on the ambo of Carpi (1184), in the arca of the cathedral of Parma (1185), on the ambo at Castell'Arquato—c. 1185—(Plate 49), on the jubé of Vezzolano—1189—(Plate 238, Fig. 4), on a ciborio of S. Pietro di Civate (c. 1195), on a relief of the baptistery of Parma (1196-1214), on the font of Canossa (the St. John is lacking) and in the ambo of Modena. In addition St. John and St. Mark are carved in the arched corbel-tables of Rubbiano (c. 1130), and Mark and Luke in the supports for a Lombard porch now rebuilt into an altar at S. Zeno of Verona. Sculptures of St. John the Evangelist at S. Zeno and Modena have the usual inscription: *In principio erat verbum.* It is to be remarked that the Evangelists have the same inscriptions at St.-Gilles and Moissac.

[7] Ezec., i, 15-16. [8] Joan., i, 29.

[9] S. Ambrosii, *Hexæmeron,* V, 6, ed. Migne, *Pat. Lat.,* XIV, 225.

words of the psalmist: the sea saw and fled, Jordon was turned back;[10] and: the waters saw thee, O God, the waters saw thee: and they were afraid and the depths were troubled.[11] From these passages, the saint meditates, it is evident that at the command of God, the waters come together or separate; fear, flee, and are troubled. At the bidding of the Almighty did not the waters of the Red Sea divide to let the children of Israel pass through in safety? Now what are the waters, thus obedient to the command of God, but the Church which gathers its faithful from every swamp, from every valley, from every lake, to unite them in the ocean of the catholic faith? The valleys symbolize heresy and paganism, since the Scripture tells us: the Lord is God of the hills, but is not God of the valleys.[12]

Moreover, Ambrose goes on to muse, not only is the ocean the symbol of the Church, but the fish who swim about in the sea are the symbol of the men who live and work and die in the Church. Christ Himself told His apostles that He would make them fishers of men. Thus in the ocean and its finny inhabitants we have a complete image of the Church of God and of human life. We therefore see that it was no chance nor caprice of the artist which led him to inlay in the mosaic pavement at S. Savino of Piacenza on the background representing the sea and its inhabitants the labours of the twelve months, and to represent on the western border between the unicorn, symbol of Christ, and on the other, the centaur, symbol of the Christian man, three scenes of the daily life of men, their struggles and combats.

The apocalyptical beast with seven heads is represented in the pavements of Casale.[13] In two capitals of the cathedral of Parma the woman is seen seated upon the seven-headed beast. In one there appears to be a purposed contrast between this figure of wickedness and the Madonna placed opposite. A monster represented in the pavement of Casale with a woman's head crowned, the body of a leopard, bird's wings and a branching tail may be a variant of the same theme.

[10] Ps., cxiii, 3. [11] Ps., lxxvi, 17. [12] III Reg., xx, 28.
[13] Apoc., xii, 3; xvii, 3.

CHAPTER V. OTHER ANIMALS AND FLORA

Hunting scenes are frequently represented in Lombard iconography. They appear to have no deeper significance than the mere representation of what was doubtless a favourite sport. Many are depicted among the sculptures of S. Michele of Pavia (c. 1100); in the destroyed pavement of Novara there was represented a hare pursued by dogs (c. 1125). Other hunting scenes may be found on the capitals of the cathedral of Parma (c. 1130-1150) and on the pontile (c. 1190) and sarcophagus (c. 1100) of S. Zeno of Verona.

In the pavement of Casale (c. 1140) is represented a bear-baiting. Another scene of the same pavement shows a man wrestling with a bear. These seem to be simply genre scenes representing sports doubtless popular among the people. In a similar genre spirit a bull with a ring in his nose is represented in the mosaic pavement of S. Salutore of Turin. There was probably nothing deeper in the crows represented in the destroyed pavement of the cathedral of Novara (c. 1125), although this bird is symbolically interpreted by the fathers.[1]

In general, as has been already observed, we should be on our guard against reading into Lombard sculptures and mosaics a deeper meaning than was intended by the artists. Armed with imagination and unrelated texts of the fathers, a whole school of writers has attempted to interpret symbolically grotesques which the artists obviously intended to have no deeper significance.

A curious proof of the non-mystical manner in which the Lombard artists frequently worked is afforded by the sculptures at S. Michele at Pavia. Among the grotesques of this church there are carved a number of subjects evidently echoes of works of serious iconographical import, but the significance of which

[1] S. Ambrosii, *Liber de Noe et Arca*, XVIII, ed. Migne, *Pat. Lat.*, XIV, 411.

has been entirely forgotten in the childish delight of creating grotesques. Thus, for example, we find a woman standing between two trees. The custom of placing a palm-tree on either side of a holy personage goes back to remote antiquity, being found, for example, on sarcophagi at Arles.[2] The trees were evidently copied in a thoughtless way by the Lombard artists not only at S. Michele but in numerous other examples that might be cited. Similarly the dog and the seated person playing a harp, or the girl and the seated person playing a harp (Plate 175, Fig. 4), both represented at S. Michele, are doubtless merely echoes of the dance of David.[3] This same subject found its way to St.-Gilles (Plate 175, Fig. 3). The sculpture of the person falling headlong may be derived from a representation of the vice of Pride.[4]

[2] Illustrated by Martin et Cahier, *Nouveaux Mélanges, Ivoires,* 88; *ibid., Décoration d'Églises,* 91; *ibid.,* 93. For the symbolism of the trees see Apoc., xxii, 2, and Pseudo-Matthew, xxi, tr. Cowper, 61.

[3] See below, pp. 396 f. [4] For echoes of the zodiac see below, pp. 364 f.

Book II. The Mirror of Science

CHAPTER I. THE LIBERAL ARTS

Although Isidore of Seville gives to Plato the credit of having been the first to form the canon of the liberal arts,[1] the trivium and quadrivium do not appear to have been definitely codified until the V century of the Christian era.[2] In the works of St. Augustine[3] and Cassiodorus[4] it is possible to trace the gradual development of the conception into a fixed tradition. Boethius[5] appears to have contributed the idea of philosophy as the super-art. Martianus Capella, as is well known, was the first to personify the liberal arts, and give them definite attributes, some of which persisted throughout the Middle Ages. The allegorical poem of Capella exercised a very powerful influence upon iconography. This influence was exerted directly by the work of Capella itself which continued to be extremely popular. A copy was to be found, for example, in the library in the cathedral of Cremona in 984, as we learn from an inventory of that date.[6] Numerous commentaries were written upon it, of

[1] Isidore of Seville, *Etymologiarum,* II, 24, ed. Migne, *Pat. Lat.,* LXXXII, 141. Isidore speaks much of the liberal arts. The *Etymologiarum* (ed. Migne, *Pat. Lat.,* LXXXII) contains a treatise upon the subject. He groups together the mathematical arts—Arithmetic, Geometry, Music and Astronomy—as a quadrivium. Philosophy is spoken of as the *ars artium, et disciplina disciplinarum* (Isidore of Seville, *Etymologiarum,* II, 24, ed. Migne, *Pat. Lat.,* LXXXII, 142).

[2] D'Ancona, 150; Cahier et Martin, *Nouveaux Mélanges, Curiosités,* 285; Émile Mâle, *L'Art Religieux du XIII Siècle en France,* 97 f.

[3] *Retractionum* S. Augustini, I, 6, ed. Migne, *Pat. Lat.,* XXXII, 591; *De Ordine,* II, 12, ed. Migne, *Pat. Lat.,* XXXII, 1011 f.; *De Doctrina Christiana,* II, 35, ed. Migne, *Pat. Lat.,* XXXIV, 60.

[4] *De Artibus ac Disciplinis Liberalium Litterarum,* ed. Migne, *Pat. Lat.,* LXX, 1149 f.

[5] Boetii, *Philosophiae Consolationis Libri Quinque,* I, 1, ed. Peiper, 4-5; *ibid.,* I, 3, ed. P., 8; *ibid.,* II, 2.

[6] *Hist. Pat. Mon.,* XIII, 1443.

which the most important is undoubtedly that of Remi d'Auxerre.[7] The influence was also exerted indirectly through the various imitators of Capella, among whom the most notable are Alain de Lille,[8] Baudri,[9] Rutebeuf[10] and Theodulphus.[11] In the iconography of northern France the liberal arts are frequently represented in the second half of the XII and the XIII centuries in a form which offers many close analogies to the literary sources, but also some notable points of divergence.

In Lombard iconography the liberal arts are represented only once, in the mosaic pavement of Ivrea, which dates from c. 1105. This representation is extremely important, since it is the earliest known, and illustrates the formation of the iconographic tradition.

It is evident that Philosophy has already been associated with the other arts, as the *disciplina disciplinarum* (Plate 101, Fig. 6). Although the fragmentary condition of the mosaic makes it impossible to say how the other arts were disposed, it is obvious that Philosophy must have been seated in the middle. She is taller than the others, and alone is crowned. In her left hand she holds an open book as in the French representations, but the other attributes used in the North are omitted. This book and the general nobility of her aspect might well have been inspired by the beautiful description of Boethius.[12]

The Dialectic of the Ivrea pavement departs widely both from the literary sources and the type established in French iconography. Capella describes Dialectic as paler than Grammar, and as having a somewhat sharp face and restless eyes. Her curly hair falls on her shoulders decently, is well tied up and exactly as it ought to be. She wears an Athenian pallium; in her left hand is a serpent, in her right, wax tablets discoloured with age, and a fish hook. The serpent she conceals beneath her

[7] Corpet.

[8] *Anticlaudianus,* ed. Migne, *Pat. Lat.,* CCX, 505.

[9] Poème adressé à Adele, fille de Guillaume le Conquérant, publié par M. Léopold Delisle. Caen, Le Blanc-Hardel, 1871. 4to.

[10] *La bataille des VII Ars,* ed. Jubinal, *Oeuvres de Rutebeuf,* 1876, III, 325.

[11] Theodulfi Aurelianensis Episc., *Carmina,* IV, 2, ed. Migne, *Pat. Lat.,* CV, 333.

[12] Boetii, *Philosophiae Consolationis Libri Quinque,* I, 1, ed. Peiper, 4-5; *ibid.,* I, 3, ed. P., 8.

robe, but thrusts her right hand forward.[13] The pallium, the curly hair, the wax tablets and the extended right hand of the Ivrea figure all correspond with Capella. The artist however has apparently added on his own responsibility the word *utrum* to explain her gesture. It is notable that the Dialectic of Ivrea is without the serpent, the constant attribute of this art in northern French iconography, and the feature of Capella's description most persistently carried over by his imitators.

Geometry in the Ivrea pavement carries a simple rod. Among the attributes given to this art by Capella is a *radium,* which was sometimes interpreted, as by Remi d'Auxerre[14] and Alain de Lille,[15] as a measuring rod:

Virgam virgo gerit, qua totum circuit orbem

but by others, such as Rutebeuf, as a pair of compasses.[16] The artist of Ivrea has evidently followed the former interpretation.

According to Capella, Arithmetic is wonderfully beautiful, with a certain majesty of noble age. From her head issues a ray of light which becomes two, then three, then four, then nine, then an infinite number and finally returns to one. In her dress are concealed all the works of nature. Her fingers like worms wriggle with incredible rapidity. Alain de Lille makes Arithmetic carry in one hand the counting board of Pythagoras. Baudri, Rutebeuf and Theodulphus make her count on her fingers. The damaged condition of the Ivrea mosaic makes it impossible to determine whether the discipline was here counting on her fingers or holding a board.

As the Ivrea mosaic has been put together, Grammar sits to the right of Philosophy from whom she receives an open book. Capella describes Grammar as carrying an ivory box containing surgical instruments—a knife to cut the vices from the tongues of children, and a black powder (ink) to cure the wound. She also has a bitter medicine of red colour made from the flower of the rod and a piece of dried goat-skin. This she advises applying to the jaws when the mouth exhales evil-smelling matter. She

[13] Martiani Capellae, Lib. IV, 328, ed. Eyssenhardt, 99.
[14] Corpet, 98.
[15] *Anticlaudianus,* II, 6, ed. Migne, *Pat. Lat.,* CCX, 505.
[16] *La bataille des VII Ars,* ed. Jubinal, *Oeuvres de Rutebeuf,* 1876, III, 325.

also has a certain lozenge made chiefly of oil by which the harshness of the voice may be removed. In addition she has a purgative, and a file divided into eight divisions by golden bars (the parts of speech) by which the teeth may be cleansed of tartar and the tongue of fur. Remi d'Auxerre says that Grammar also has wax tablets. Alain de Lille says of Grammar that she is alert, studious, willing and careful; she is neither careless of her dress, dirty in face, degenerate in manner, slovenly in speech, nor barbarous in deed. Her face is pale from study, but only moderately pale, since her lips are still rosy, and she is yet in her maidenly prime. Her breasts flow with milk which nourishes a child not yet old enough to eat solid food. In her hand she holds a whip to punish the errors of childhood; thus the nipple is made bitter by the rod, and the rod sweet by the nipple. She is father and mother in one. In the other hand she holds a knife with which she cleanses the tartar from the teeth. If a tooth protrudes beyond its fellows, she cuts it off. She teaches children to speak, looses tied tongues, and leads words into their proper channels. She is clothed in white garments of the Nile papyrus. Baudri gives to Grammar a file with eight divisions useful for taking the tartar off the teeth. She operates with medical forceps to set right a faltering lip and heals the wound with ink; besides she has a whip. Theodulphus makes Grammar sit at the foot of a tree, which seems to proceed from her, since no art is of value without Grammar. In her left hand she holds a whip, in her right a sword, the first to incite the lazy, the second to amputate vices. Since Wisdom is ruler, her head is circled by a diadem. In French iconography Grammar is always represented with a rod and two children at her feet. The poor preservation of the Ivrea mosaic leaves it uncertain what attributes, if any, she possessed in addition to the book or wax tablets.

We may then conclude that the Ivrea mosaic shows closer points of contact with Capella than with any other known source, but that the points of divergence are nevertheless so notable that it would seem probable the mosaic was not directly inspired by that author. There appears to be no direct connection between the Ivrea mosaic and the representations of the liberal arts in French iconography.

CHAPTER II. ASTRONOMY

Lombard iconography boasts of one artist who was singularly learned in the science of astronomy. Nicolò displayed this erudition at Sagra S. Michele and the cathedral of Piacenza; on the former he sculptured a series of constellations which in addition to the twelve of the zodiac include Hydra, Ara Notius, Cetus, Centaurus, Eridanus, Pistrix, Canis Major, Canis Minor, Lepus, Orion, Deltoton, Pegasus, Delfinus.[1] The archivolt of Piacenza displays in addition to astronomical erudition a profound symbolism. In the centre at the top is the right hand of God which sets in motion the entire universe. On either side are the sun and the moon, the prime ministers of the Deity, then come a star and a comet, both revolved by an angel, the minister of God. Next come the two chief winds, Eurus and Auster, signifying that not only the revolutions of the heavenly bodies but the winds as well are governed by God. Finally come the twelve constellations of the zodiac, six on either side.

Three constellations appear to be represented in the mosaic pavement of S. Michele of Pavia—c. 1100—(Plate 174, Fig. 2). A winged horse is probably Pegasus although it is simply labelled *Equus*. Draco is represented with a naked man. A third constellation labelled *Capra* and represented as a goat riding astride on a wolf (Plate 174, Fig. 2) possibly results from a confusion of the constellation Capricorn with the Chimæra, or may represent the star Capra in the constellation of Auriga.

The Sun and Moon are not infrequently depicted in Lombard iconography. The representations may be divided into two classes: the symbolical, and the non-symbolical. Of the former there are excellent examples in Benedetto's Depo-

[1] Cf. Isidore of Seville, *Etymologiarum*, III, 71, ed. Migne, *Pat. Lat.*, LXXXII, 178; Baudri, ed. Delisle, l. 583 f.

sition (Plate 165, Fig. 4) and bicorn relief (Plate 164, Fig. 2) at Parma. The significance of the crescent of the Moon, the spiked crown and disk of the Sun in the Parma lunette (Plate 164, Fig. 2) would seem to be obvious enough. The Sun in the lower of the two representations of this relief (Plate 164, Fig. 2) is depicted as in a chariot and whipping up his steeds, an evident reminiscence of the myth of Phaethon. The Moon is symmetrically placed in a chariot drawn by oxen, possibly because of the crescent-shaped horns of these animals (Plate 164, Fig. 2). For the same reason she is associated with a bullock in the upper representation. The lower disk is surrounded by four much weathered figures holding horns of plenty in four different positions which possibly represent the phases of the moon. In the relief of the Deposition (Plate 165, Fig. 4) the Sun and the Moon are more simply represented as heads surrounded by foliage. In all cases the Sun is male, and the Moon female.

It is evident that these representations are derived from classical prototypes by a continuous tradition. The Morgan collection contains a silver dish of the treasure of Karavás (Cyprus) assigned to the VI century but apparently of earlier date. Above a relief which probably represents David and Absalom, the Sun and the Moon are shown enclosed in a sort of disk which must represent the heavens, for in another plate from the same treasure the Sun and Moon again appear but this time together with the Stars all enclosed in a disk from which emerges the divine hand. These reliefs show points of contact both with Benedetto's lunette of the Parma baptistery (Plate 164, Fig. 2) and with Nicolò's sculptures at Piacenza. The Sun and the Moon are represented a single time in the frescos of the catacombs.[2] Strzygowski has published a Renaissance copy of a calendar of 354,[3] in which the representations of the Sun and Moon show striking analogies with the Parma lunette. The Sun is a standing male figure wearing a crown of

[2] Lamberton, in *American Journal of Archæology*, XV, 521-522.

[3] *Die Calenderbilder des Chronographen vom Jahre 354*, in *Jahrbuch des kaiserlich deutschen archäologischen Instituts*, Ergänzungsheft, I, 1888.

spikes and carrying in his hand a ball and a whip; on either side are two medallions with similar crowned heads. The Moon is a standing female figure carrying a torch and a reversed horn of plenty; behind her head is a crescent. On either side are two medallions containing similar heads. In a French Limoges cloisonné enamel on copper of the first half of the XII century in the Morgan collection, the Moon is shown in bust as a haloed figure with horns holding a torch in her left hand (compare Plate 164, Fig. 2). Below the figure ends in a wheel, with the heads of two animals, possibly a suggestion of a chariot.[4] The Sun and the Moon are given much the same characteristics in literary sources.[5]

The church-fathers had early established that the Sun which is the light of the world is the figure of Christ, and the Moon which reflects that light the symbol of the Church. Moreover, the Church like the Moon seems to wane, but in reality never passes.[6] This symbolism passed into iconography. The Sun and the Moon, as figures of Christ and the Church, are introduced in an ivory-carving of the VIII century which has been illus-

[4] For other representations of the Sun and Moon in French iconography see Didron, *Symbolique Chrétienne,* in *Annales Archéologiques,* I, 1844, 244.

[5] O stelliferi conditor orbis
Qui pertuo nixus solio
Rapido cælum turbine uersas
Legemque pati sidera cogis,
Vt nunc pleno lucida cornu
Fratris totis obuia flammis
Condat stellas luna minores,
Nunc obscuro pallida cornu
Phoebo proprior lumina perdat.
Et qui primae tempore noctis
Agit algentes hesperos ortus.
Solitas iterum mutet habenas
Phoebi pallens lucifer ortu. . . .
Tua uis uarium temperat annum. . . .
(Boetii, *Philosophiae Consolationis,* I, 5, ed. Peiper, 17).

Cum face et astrigero diademate
Luna bicornis . . . . .
(Ausonii, *Cupido Cruciatus,* 41, ed. Schenkl, M. G. H., *Auc. Antiq.,* V, pt. 2, 123).

Lucebant radii [solis], lucebat fervidus axis; efflabrant ignem naribus ejus equi. (Baudri, ed. Delisle, l. 677 f.).

[6] Originis, *Comment. in Joan.,* Tomus, I, 24, ed. Migne, *Pat. Gree.,* XIV, 66; S. Ambrosii, *Hexameron,* IV, 2, 8, ed. Migne, *Pat. Lat.,* XIV, 203, 217; Sauer, 225.

trated by Venturi.[7] It was doubtless from some such ivory-carvings probably of Byzantine origin that Benedetto derived the idea of introducing the symbolical figures of the Sun and the Moon in the Deposition of the Parma baptistery (Plate 165, Fig. 4). The Sun is placed in parallel with the Church, the Moon with the Synagogue. Even more subtle is the symbolism of the lunette of the baptistery (Plate 164, Fig. 2).[8] The Sun and the Moon are twice represented because they stand not only for their actualities—day and night which gnaw the roots of the tree of life—but also because they are symbols of a deeper truth, of that Christ and that Church which offer to man in his perilous situation the hope of safety.

The Sun and the Moon are represented as being held in the hands of the Year in the mosaic pavement of Aosta. Non-symbolical representations of the Sun are found at Borgo, in the cathedral of Parma, and in the crypt window of the cathedral of Modena (Plate 142, Fig. 6).

[7] II, 173, 213.

[8] For a more detailed explanation of this relief see below, Vol. III, p. 145.

CHAPTER III. THE MONTHS, THE SEASONS AND THE YEAR

The representation of the zodiac opens up a vaster and more confusing field than any other subject of Lombard iconography. The very wealth of the material causes embarrassment, for not only was the cycle of the months represented very frequently in Lombard mosaics and sculptures, but it was dealt with plastically throughout Europe and in numerous literary sources.

The custom of representing the months pictorially goes back to remote antiquity, being found according to Strzygowski[1] as early as the XIII century B. C. at the Ramesseum of Thebes. From the Egyptians the motive must have passed to the Romans, for the *Tetrastichon Authenticum de Singulis Mensibus,* although it has been ascribed to Ausonius, is undoubtedly as old as the age of Augustus, and describes a cycle of plastic representations of the months. However, there are extant no actual examples of such representations of the Roman cycle earlier than the IV century A. D. Of this period is the mosaic found at Carthage and now in the British Museum which has been published by Augustus Wollaston Frank, and which contained representations of the twelve months inspired by the *Tetrastichon.* Other similar mosaics of the same time, unfortunately very fragmentary, have been found in Africa and Rome.[2] Another mosaic, formerly at Sur in the Christian church dedicated in 557 or 652, is now in the Louvre at Paris. Since the style of the workmanship is that of the IV century, this pavement is believed to have belonged originally to a pagan building, later transformed into a church.[3] The cycle of the months at Sur, however, is of a type entirely different from those in the Roman cycle, and, according

[1] *Die Calenderbilder des Chronographen vom Jahre 354,* in *Jahrbuch des kaiserlich deutschen archäologischen Instituts,* Ergänzungsheft, I, 1888.

[2] Strzygowski, *op. cit.,* 50.

[3] Julien Durand, *Mosaïque de Sour,* in *Annales Archéologiques,* XXIII, 1863, 278; XXIV, 1864, 5, 205.

to Strzygowski,[4] can only have been derived from Syrian-Macedonian sources.

The most important extant representation of the months belonging to the IV century is that of a calendar of 354, published by Strzygowski.[5] These drawings make it evident that the Christians adapted the pagan tradition, with very few changes, for the figures in question were evidently directly inspired by the *Tetrastichon* already mentioned. The scenes are extremely complicated, with many symbols referring chiefly to Roman religious observances. Only very rarely do they foreshadow later types, such as we find in the sculptures and mosaics of the XII and XIII centuries. However, certain features present some slight analogy with Romanesque and Gothic plastic representations, as, for example, the sign of the zodiac placed beside the month of February, and the fact that the figures depicting the summer months, June, July and August, are naked.[6]

From the IV century to the end of the XI there is extant not a single plastic representation of the cycle of the months. The writers, however, and especially the poets, busily occupied themselves with the subject. Isidore of Seville describes the signs of the zodiac but says nothing of the labours peculiar to each.[7] It was possibly Ausonius who contributed more than any other to give the tradition definite form for the Middle Ages. The verses of one of his poems are inscribed about the zodiac in the mosaic pavement of S. Savino of Piacenza (Plate 186, Fig. 8) which proves that it was used as a source for the composition of this work. The verses, however, only refer to the signs of the zodiac, not to the labours of the months.[8] Other poems of Ausonius foreshadow the forms in which the months were in later times represented. Thus January is associated with Janus Bifrons, February, with Numa sacrificing to the gods of Hell with clasped hands (February when represented as at Aosta warming his hands at the fire is perhaps connected

[4] Strzygowski, *op. cit.*, 51. [5] *Op. cit.*

[6] Strzygowski, *op. cit.*, 85-86, gives a most instructive table comparing the subjects of the different cycles.

[7] *Etymologiarum*, III, 71, and V, 33, ed. Migne, *Pat. Lat.*, LXXXII, 181, 219.

[8] For a study of this mosaic see below, Vol. III, pp. 272 f.

with this conception), April is spoken of in connection with the loves of Mars and Venus, September is associated with the grape and with sowing, and December with feasting.[9] The types of certain months seem even to have been established before the time of Ausonius. The *Hic Iani Mensis,*[10] a work ascribed to the II century, or even to the Augustan period, speaks of January as sacred to Janus; June as naked and reaping the harvest; September as drying the grapes and ripening apples. The *Primus, Iane, tibi*[11] also speaks of January as sacred to Janus, and April as the month of Venus and flowers, while October is characterized by the vintage. A curious description of Janus is given in a sermon attributed to St. Augustine.[12] Janus is here said to have been a prince of the pagans so feared because of his tyranny that men began to consider him a god. He then became the deity of the first month of the year, and was given two faces symbolizing one the year which ended, the other that which was beginning.

Of the many poems which treated of the months, written during the Carlovingian era, by all odds the most important is *Martius hic Falcem,* published by Biadene[13] and supposed by him to be of the time of Bede. Here are many details which strongly recall later representations in art. Thus, March is spoken of as holding a knife ready to prune the vine; April hoes the field; May trains the vine; August reaps the harvest; September threshes; October sows; December prepares a hog for the feast. A few other Carlovingian poems have details which suggest, more or less vaguely, Romanesque and Gothic plastic representations. In the *De Mensibus,*[14] March prunes and August brings apples and fruit. The *Officia XII Mensium,*[15] written probably in the VI century, tells how March extends his care to the vines, July matures the fruit, August dries the grain, September gathers the vintage, October treads the grapes, and December slays the

[9] Ausonii, *Eglogarum,* Lib. V, 3, ed. Schenkl, M. G. H., *Auc. Ant.,* V, pt. 2, 10.

[10] Ed. Baehrens, M. G. H., *P. L. M.,* I, XII, 206. [11] *Ibid.,* XIII, 210.

[12] Sermo Supposititius CXXIX, S. Augustini, *De Tempore,* ed. Migne, *Pat. Lat.,* XXXIX, 2001.

[13] Leandro Biadene, *'Carmina de Mensibus' di Bonvesin da la Riva,* in *Studj de Filologia Romanza,* IX, 1903, 1.

[14] Ed. Baehrens, M. G. H., *P. L. M.,* V, 214. [15] *Ibid.*

swine. In the *Laus Omnium Mensium,*[16] April is spoken of as lascivious, and October as the month of the vintage. On the other hand, certain poems of about the same age, such as the *Dira Patet,*[17] give cycles of the months entirely without analogy with the later iconography.

At the end of the *Martyrologium* of Wandalbertus Diaconus[18] is a poem of considerable length upon the twelve months. The author declares his purpose of elucidating the origin of the names of the months, and of the signs of the zodiac which correspond to the twelve kalends. January is named from Janus and his sign is the Capricorn. In this season man can not labour except at chopping wood, the rest of the time he sits at home. The sign of February is Aquarius; in this month man plows and sows, drives his cattle, prunes the vine, hunts deer, boars and bears with hounds, and fishes. The sign of March is Pisces. Man then surrounds his orchards with hedges, sows various seeds, hunts deer, goats and rabbits, prepares the beehives and grafts trees. The sign of the zodiac for April is Aries. Man plants more hedges to protect the vines, and trains the vine. The zodiac for May is Taurus. This is the month for plowing, for mating sheep and for warfare, either by land or by sea.[19] The sign of the zodiac for June is Gemini. In this month peasants gather cherries and apples and make hay. July, of which the sign is Cancer, is the month for harvesting the crops sown in March,

[16] *Ibid.,* IV, 290. [17] *Ibid.,* I, XI, 205. [18] Ed. Achéry, *Spicil.,* II, 57.

[19] Since these lines are important as offering an explanation of the hitherto unexplained representation of the month of May in the zodiacs I quote them verbatim:

Hoc etiam mense Autumno quæ ritè seruntur,
Agricolæ ductis invertunt terga juvencis.
Hoc, quibus armentis amor est & cultus habendi,
Fecundo pecori lectum de more maritum
Emittunt, gentem dominis qui servet equinam.
Hoc quoque delectum castris acieque probare
Tyronem vetus instituit doctrina, simulque
Turmis & legione hostis premere arma superbi:
Seu classem instructam ventis aptare secundis.
Tumque favis æstu eroceis emissa juventus
Aëre sub nudo ludit, stabulisque relictis.
Ignotas quærunt vagabunda examina sedes:
Alis sæpe etiam bellum stimulisque lacessunt,
In pulchramque ruunt animoso pectore mortem.

for fruits, and for hunting deer. In August, of which the sign is Leo, man reaps and flays the grain. September, of which the sign is Virgo, is the time when man guards his vineyards, traps foxes, gathers the grapes and treads them. October, of which the sign is Scorpio, is the month for making wine, gathering fruits, plowing the vineyards, trimming the old vines and planting new ones. In November, of which the sign is Libra, man plants certain seeds, drives pigs into the woods and hunts boars. In December the peasant rests and sleeps, but he must also break the glebe, cut wood, net birds and slaughter swine.[20]

In another similar poem of the months, believed to date from the IX century, the signs of the zodiac are neglected, but the derivation of each name is carefully explained. January is the month for warming garments and limbs at the fire. In February grain begins to grow. In April flowers grow, and twigs and branches sprout. In May seeds are planted. In July hay is cut. In August grain is harvested. In September the fields are plowed. In October wine is made. In November one toasts one's garment and limbs, or drives swine in the woods. In December:

Tunc quoque de silva porci mactantur obesi,
Post illis fruitur, qualiter inde placet.[21]

In another poem of unknown authorship the signs of the zodiac with the exception of Taurus are similarly neglected. January builds a fire; in February eggs are covered; April is the month of sprouting flowers and trees; May is the month of flowers; June sows; July makes hay; August harvests the grain; September sows; October treads the grapes:

Decidua porcos pascit quia glande Novimber
Horridus effuso saepe cruore madet.
Glande sues reduci pastos pastore Decimber
Rimatur fibris, sordet et obsonio.[22]

[20] The lines dealing with this last duty are so important as an explanation of the representation of the month in iconography that they deserve to be quoted:

Hoc sub mense sues pasta jam glande madentes,
Distento & plenam monstrantes ventre saginam
Cædere, & ad tepidum mos est suspendere sumum.
Terga priùs salis fuerint cum sparsa madore.

[21] M. G. H., *P. L. M.*, II, 644. [22] *Ibid.*, 645.

Other literary sources are of minor importance. The *Carmina de Mensibus* of Bonvesin da la Riva seems to have been copied from, rather than to have inspired, the plastic representations, and the elaborate symbolism appears to be a gratuitous addition of the author.[23] Thus February is spoken of as trimming the vine. This symbolizes how the wise man cuts off sin by confession. March trains the vine, sows the fields with flax and vegetables; even so he who wishes true joy must cultivate in youth the young plants of virtue that they may solace the rest of his life. April is adorned with flowers, and is a time when birds are happy; May makes the best cheese, and the hay on which January feeds his horses. April sows panic-grass and millet, and shears the wool; in this month cherries and strawberries are ripe, roses and lilies bloom. For this reason the month symbolizes virginity. The description contains the lines:

> *At curiosus ego iusto dans menbra labori,*
> *militiamque gerens et equis facetus et armis*
> *defendo patriam.*

which have important bearing upon the iconographical representations. June is clothed only in linen because of the great heat, his feet are naked, his body is tired. He reaps and harvests. In this month plums and apples ripen. July is dusty and almost naked, the sun cooks his limbs, sweat dissolves his body; he complains that January lives at the fire enjoying the toil of the other months. In this month, fruit, apples, pears, plums and grapes ripen. August matures the panic-grass, millet, hay and grapes, and washes the flax. September matures the panic-grass, millet and beans. Ripe wine flows from the grapes. "I prepare," she says, "full vessels and barrels." Chestnuts ripen, figs are dried, the first seed sown. October makes wine, gathers apples and pears; November salts pork, gathers turnips, parsnips and cabbage. December is clothed in fox-skin, and prepares the wood. This strange poem ends with an unexpected burst of action. The rebellious months rush to war. February seizes the

[23] Leandro Biadene, *'Carmina de Mensibus' di Bonvesin da la Riva,* in *Studj de Filologia Romanza,* IX, 1903, 1.

knife with which he is accustomed to prune the vines; March, his trumpet; April the standard-bearer, his branch with flowers; May, splendidly armed, mounts his horse; June brings his scythe; July, his flail; August, his stick; September, his club for pressing the grapes; October, the pole with which he shakes down chestnuts; November, his knife for flaying pork; and December, his ax. But January is undisturbed. He sits resting at the fire and gives counsel on agriculture. This month has a double face; he looks back, taking his tribute, and forward, ordering his subjects to labour and bear fruit. Numa, seeing that none other of the months was fit to rule, placed January over them.

Alain de Lille[24] speaks of the signs of the zodiac, but does not mention the labours of the months. A Milanese calendar also gives the signs of the zodiac, each being preceded by three appropriate verses.[25]

In the light of the literary sources the zodiacs represented in Lombard iconography offer few difficulties. It has been observed that from the IV to the XI centuries there are extant no representations of the cycle of the months. In the XII and XIII centuries such representations came to assume great importance in both oriental[26] and occidental art. The earliest extant plastic representations of the months in Europe are to be found in Lombardy, where the subject began to be depicted, as far as can be judged from the extant monuments, about the year 1100.

In the Middle Ages there was considerable divergence of opinion as to whether the year should begin on the twenty-fifth of December, the twenty-fifth of March, on Easter Day or on the first of January. This uncertainty is reflected in the representations of the zodiac in Lombardy. In the great majority of cases subsequent alterations have made it impossible to determine with which month the cycle began. It is certain, however, that at Piacenza and Modena the cycles began with

[24] *Anticlaudianus*, V, 1, ed. Migne, *Pat. Lat.*, CCX, 529.

[25] Beroldo, ed. Magistretti.

[26] Josef Strzygowski, *Die Monatscyclen der byzantinischen Kunst*, in *Repertorium für Kunstwissenschaft*, XI, 1888, 32.

January, and that in the cathedral of Parma, at S. Zeno of Verona, and probably also at Bobbio they began with March. There was a similar lack of uniformity in regard to the signs of the zodiac. Since the Sun has the inconvenient habit of entering the constellations not on the first day of the month,[27] it happened that the constellation in which the Sun rose at the beginning of the month was sometimes chosen as the respective sign of the zodiac, at other times that in which it entered during the course of the month. There is the same divergence in literary sources. Let us now take up separately the representations of the various months.

January has for a sign of the zodiac either Capricorn (S. Savino of Piacenza) or Aquarius, the water-pourer (Cremona and the baptistery of Parma). At Cremona the latter sign is represented by a man pouring water into a cup held by another man. At Aosta the month appears as a two-headed Janus who stands between two doors, one open, the other closed. In the cathedral of Parma also January is depicted as a two-headed Janus; at Modena the month is represented by a peasant wrapped up in a cloak with a hood, and sharpening his hatchet to cut wood. At S. Zeno of Verona a peasant warms himself at the fire; at Cremona and the baptistery of Parma sausages are seen suspended over a stick, roasting before a fire. In the Parma baptistery there is also a boiling kettle, at Cremona a brazier. In the baptistery of Parma the peasant is seated before the fire, while another is seen hoeing the ground.

The sign of the zodiac for the month of February is Aquarius (S. Savino of Piacenza) or Pisces, the fish (Cremona and the baptistery of Parma). In allusion to this sign the month is represented at the cathedral of Parma as going fishing with net and basket.[28] At Cremona and in the baptistery of Parma the month is depicted as spading the earth. At S. Savino of Piacenza and S. Zeno of Verona he prunes the vine. At Aosta and Modena he warms himself at a fire.

The sign of the zodiac for the month of March is either

[27] The matter is complicated by the precession of the equinoxes.

[28] In the cathedral of Lucca the month is represented fishing.

Pisces (S. Savino of Piacenza) or Aries, the ram (Cremona, the baptistery of Parma). The most typical representation of the month is that of a wind-god blowing a horn, in obvious reference to the tempestuous character of the month. It is thus represented, for example, at S. Savino of Piacenza (Plate 186, Fig. 8), at Cremona, and at the baptistery of Parma. At S. Michele of Pavia (Plate 174, Fig. 2) and at S. Zeno of Verona the month has flaming hair, and blows at once two horns, one out of each corner of his mouth. At Cremona, Modena and Aosta peasants are shown pruning vines. A peculiar representation is that of the cathedral of Parma in which the month appears as a half naked youth.

The sign of the zodiac for April is either Aries (S. Savino of Piacenza) or Taurus, the bull (baptistery of Parma). The month is almost always represented as a youth holding in his hands some of the flora of spring—two budding shrubs at S. Savino of Piacenza (Plate 186, Fig. 8), a flower at S. Tommaso of Reggio, three freshly budding branches at S. Michele of Pavia, a branch at Cremona, a palm and a lily in the baptistery of Parma, two flowers at Modena, a flower and a budding branch at S. Zeno of Verona, two flowers at Aosta. In the cathedral of Parma the month is placed between two palm-trees one of which he holds in either hand. At Modena and at S. Savino of Piacenza (Plate 186, Fig. 8) he is similarly placed between two shrubs; the motive is doubtless borrowed from representations of martyrs in Early Christian monuments. At Aosta April is symbolized by a bird's nest.[29]

The sign of the zodiac for the month of May is either Taurus (S. Savino of Piacenza) or Gemini, the twins (Cremona and the baptistery of Parma). The month is usually represented as a youth who starts out for warfare with his horse. At S. Savino of Piacenza, the cathedral of Parma and Modena he is represented as leading this horse which is saddled. At Cremona, S. Zeno of Verona and Aosta he has already mounted. At S. Savino of Piacenza he is armed with bow and arrows; at

[29] At the cathedral of Lucca the month holds in his hand a birdling.

S. Zeno with lance and shield, at the cathedral of Parma with a lance, and in the baptistery of Parma with a lance with banner. Only at S. Michele of Pavia (Plate 174, Fig. 2) is the month represented cutting hay with a scythe.

For the month of June the sign of the zodiac is either Gemini (S. Savino of Piacenza) or Cancer, the crab (Cremona and the baptistery of Parma). At Modena and at Aosta the month is represented as mowing. In the cathedral of Parma he sharpens his scythe. At S. Zeno of Verona he gathers fruit. At Cremona also he is represented by a youth carrying a pail or bucket, doubtless full of fruit; behind is a tree in full foliage and a little pig. In the baptistery of Parma the month appears to be depicted driving two oxen.

The sign of the zodiac for the month of July is either Cancer (S. Savino of Piacenza) or Leo, the lion (Cremona,[30] and the baptistery of Parma). At S. Savino of Piacenza, in the cathedral and baptistery of Parma, at Modena and S. Zeno of Verona the month is represented as reaping the harvest. At Aosta he binds the grain into sheaves. At Cremona he holds a flail.

The sign of the zodiac for the month of August is either Leo (S. Savino of Piacenza) or Virgo, the virgin (the baptistery of Parma). At S. Savino of Piacenza, Bobbio, the cathedral of Piacenza, Cremona, the baptistery of Parma, and S. Zeno of Verona the month is represented as nailing up a barrel. At Modena and Aosta he threshes.

For September the sign of the zodiac is either Virgo (S. Savino of Piacenza) or Libra, the scales (Cremona and the baptistery of Parma). The month is generally represented as plucking grapes, as at S. Savino of Piacenza, Cremona, the

[30] The restored condition of the zodiac at Cremona makes its study extremely difficult. Since the second volume of this work was published, a further study of the sculptures has convinced me that the two restored cows which I had taken as a transformation of Capricorn really are a metamorphosis of Virgo. The month which nails up the barrel must therefore be not November but August. This necessitates also revising the names of some of the other months as given in Vol. II, p. 388. The month holding the flail and with the sign Leo is doubtless July not August. The month reaping and with the sign Scorpio is not July but October. The month with the peasant dressing swine, and the sign Sagittarius is not December but November. The scene with the two peasants one of whom drinks, is not October but December.

baptistery and cathedral of Parma and S. Zeno of Verona. At Modena, S. Zeno of Verona and Aosta he treads the grapes.

For October the sign of the zodiac is either Libra (S. Savino of Piacenza) or Scorpio, the scorpion (the baptistery of Parma and Cremona). In the cathedral of Parma the month is crowned, and holds a cup of new-made wine. At Cremona he reaps. At Modena the month holds a funnel to pour wine into a cask.[31] At the baptistery of Parma and Aosta he sows. At S. Zeno of Verona he gathers acorns accompanied by a hog.

The month of November has for a sign of the zodiac either Scorpio (S. Savino of Piacenza) or Sagittarius, the archer (the baptistery of Parma). At Bobbio the month is represented holding a pole perhaps for knocking down chestnuts. In the baptistery of Parma he stows vegetables away in a sack. At Modena he sows, at Aosta he carries a load of wood. In the cathedrals of Parma and Cremona and at S. Zeno of Verona he butchers swine.

The month of December has for its sign of the zodiac either Sagittarius (S. Savino of Piacenza) or Capricornus, capricorn (baptistery of Parma). The month is represented at S. Savino of Piacenza and Aosta as butchering swine. In the cathedrals of Parma and Modena he cuts wood. At S. Zeno of Verona he carries fagots. In the baptistery of Parma he prunes the vines; at Cremona he drinks.

The zodiac once represented in the pavement of Isola S. Giulio has perished. In the pavement of Acquanegra the signs are depicted without the corresponding works of the months, as the latter are often depicted without the signs. The constellations of the zodiac also find their place, as has been mentioned, among the constellations sculptured by Nicolò at Sagra S. Michele and in the cathedral of Piacenza. In addition there are numerous semi-grotesque sculptures which seem to have been inspired by the works of the months. Thus in the Porta dei Principi of the cathedral of Modena there are represented a workman pruning a vine, and a wind-god. A capital of Vicofertile seems to contain representations of the months of April,

[31] In the cathedral of Lucca the month pours wine into a barrel.

December and May. On the apse of Borgo are sculptures which recall the months of January, March, April, May and September. The two men dressing an animal at S. Michele of Pavia are doubtless an echo of the month of December, as the two persons with saddled horse are evidently a reminiscence of the month of May.

The seasons were represented in Early Christian iconography as symbolical of the Resurrection,[32] were almost personified by Boethius,[33] and became familiar in French iconography.[34] They are represented only once in Lombard art—in the baptistery of Parma.

According to Siccardo the year is a symbol of Christ, for its members are the four seasons, that is to say, the four Evangelists. The twelve months are the twelve apostles, the seven days of the week the seven gifts of the Holy Spirit. The twenty-four hours are the twelve prophets of the Old Testament and twelve apostles of the New.[35] The four seasons are also the symbols of the four cardinal virtues.

It is doubtless in reference to this symbolism that the year in the mosaic pavement of the cathedral of Aosta is represented as haloed and bearing in his hands the Sun and the Moon. The central figure, symbolical of God, is surrounded by the four rivers of Paradise, symbols of the Evangelists, and of the four cardinal virtues. In the mosaic pavement of S. Savino of Piacenza similarly the year holds in his hands the Sun and the Moon, and is surrounded by the four rivers of Paradise and genre scenes representing the four cardinal virtues.

[32] Lamberton, in *American Journal of Archæology,* XV, 513. The seasons also appear in the pavement of Sur.

[33] *Phil. Cons.,* I, 6.

[34] Didron, *Symbolique Chrétienne,* in *Annales Archéologiques,* I, 1844, 243.

[35] Sicardi Cremonensis Episcopi, *Mitrale,* V, 7, ed. Migne, *Pat. Lat.,* CCXIII, 232.

CHAPTER IV. THE WINDS, THE SEA AND THE RIVERS OF PARADISE

There was a strong feeling in the Middle Ages that on the pavement which was trampled under foot by the crowd there should not be represented saints nor scenes from sacred history.[1] It therefore resulted that except in the choir the subjects depicted in mosaic pavements were generally limited to the Mirrors of Nature, of Science and of Morals. It is felt to be particularly fitting that those cycles which were symbolical of the world should be represented in this least dignified portion of the church-building, for the Middle Ages scorned the earth and its vanities, and believed that salvation was to be sought only in the immaterial. That is why the labyrinth, symbol of human error, was represented on the pavements of S. Michele of Pavia and S. Savino of Piacenza. That is why the Wheel of Fortune, symbol of the vicissitudes of human destiny on earth, was represented in the pavement of S. Salutore of Turin. That is why the labours of man in the various months were depicted in the pavements of Bobbio, Isola S. Giulio, S. Tommaso of Reggio, S. Savino of Piacenza (Plate 186, Fig. 8) and S. Michele of Pavia (Plate 174, Fig. 2).

Baudri in describing the pavement of the imaginary bed-chamber of Adele, daughter of William the Conqueror, says that on this pavement was represented the image of the world with all the monsters of the sea and land:

Quippe pavimentum mundi fuit altera mappa:
Hic videas terræ monstra marisque simul.
Ne vero pulvis picturam læderet ullus,
Tota fuit vitrea tecta superficie.
Ipsa superficies vitreum mare nomen habebat. . . .

[1] Exceptions were made in the case of the stories of the Maccabees, Judith, etc.

Cingebatur opus fluido vividique colore,
Ut maris esset opus quod fluitare putes.
Hoc opus Oceani nomen formamque gerebat,
Quod penitus limbo cinxerat arva suo
Insula non deerat et secla marina videres:
Ballenas, cete, cetera monstra maris.
Gurgitibus propriis pisces innare putares,
Sique forent pisces, prendere posse manu.
Oceano totus terræ sic obsitus orbis
Humectabatur fluminibus mediis;
Forma rotunda sibi, speciem quæ præferat ovi,
Constans mensuris ponderibusque suis.
Porro venustabat operum variatio terras,
Humanusque labor auxerat effigiem.
Divinus siquidem quædam construxerat ordo;
Quædam vero manus fecerat artificum.
Disposuit cursus summus moderator aquarum
Tigris et Eufratis, Eridani, Ligeris.

The poet also speaks of the Mediterranean placed in the middle of the continents, of the mountains, of the various kinds of animals and monstrous men, of the sands of certain shores so red that the sea over them reflects the same colour, of the Syrtes, of the Sicilian danger, of the flames which Ætna vomits, of hot springs, of fresh and salt water. He describes the sea of Asphaltites which covers the site of Sodom and is different from all other lakes. On these waters float all living things whether men, beasts, bulls or camels, for they will not sink, but there are no fish nor are there any ships. The poet goes on to describe the three continents—Asia, Europe and Africa—into which the world is divided. Paradise is placed in Asia; the Nile separates Asia from Africa. There follows a treatise on geography. In Asia there are griffins, panthers, tigers and lionesses. In Africa one finds the bear, the rhinoceros, the panther, the camel, the wild ass, the hyena, the aspic, the basilisk and many other animals.[2]

The description of Baudri must have been inspired by some such pavement as that at S. Salutore at Turin in which indeed

[2] Baudri, ed. Delisle, 719 f.

is represented symbolically the world, the sea that surrounds it, the islands of the sea and the winds that blow over the earth.

Pliny[3] says that the ancients knew only the four cardinal winds, Septentrio or Aparctias (north), Subsolanus or Apilioten (east), Auster or Notus (south), Favonius or Zephyrus (west); but a later age increased this number to eight, adding the intermediate winds Aquilo or Boreas (north-east), Vulturnus or Eurus (south-east), Africus or Liba (south-west), Corus or Argestes (north-west). Between these eight winds others had been added, and the process had been continued indefinitely. He goes on to speak of the characteristics of the different winds. Favonius blows in the spring and brings the swallows. Subsolanus brings the heat of summer and blows in May. Aquilo blows for the eight days preceding, and the forty during the dog days; also in the winter, but in a very different manner. The northern winds are the coldest and drive away clouds. Africus and Auster are humid, Corus and Vulturnus are dry, Aquilo and Septentrio are snowy, Septentrio and Corus bring hail, Auster is hot, Vulturnus and Favonius tepid, although drier than Subsolanus; Aquilo is the most helpful, Auster the most harmful, of winds.

This classification of the winds was somewhat modified by Isidore of Seville;[4] for him there are four cardinal winds each flanked on either side by subsidiary winds. Thus Septentrius is placed between Circius on his right and Aquilonis or Boreas on his left; Subsolanus has Vulturnus on his right and Eurus on his left; Auster has Euroaustrum on his right and Austroafricum on his left; Flavonius or Zephyrus has Africum on his right and Corus on his left. This classification was the one usually adopted in the Middle Ages. It is the one used by Honoré of Autun[5] and in the mosaic pavement of S. Salutore. Isidore of Seville also gives a description of the characteristics of the various winds,[6] which differs in numerous particulars from the account

[3] *Nat. Hist.*, II, 47, 119, ed. Teubner, I, 170.

[4] *Etymologiarum*, XIII, 11, ed. Migne, *Pat. Lat.*, LXXXII, 479.

[5] Honorii Augustodunensis, *De Imagine Mundi*, I, 55, ed. Migne, *Pat. Lat.*, CLXXII, 136.

[6] *De Natura Rerum*, Cap. XXXVII, ed. Migne, *Pat. Lat.*, LXXXIV, 1006.

of Pliny, but is substantially in agreement with Honoré of Autun and with the inscriptions in the Turin pavement.[7] The editors of the *Patrologiæ*[8] have printed a poem earlier than the time of Isidore in which each of the four cardinal winds is represented as flanked by two subsidiary winds and the characteristics of each are briefly described. The winds were represented as early as the IV century A. D. in the pavement of Sur. In Lombard iconography they appeared in addition to the mosaic of S. Salutore of Turin in the now destroyed pavement in the cathedral of Novara.

The sea which is represented in the catacomb frescos of the IV century[9] appears in Lombard iconography in the mosaic pavements of S. Savino of Piacenza, S. Tommaso of Reggio and S. Salutore of Turin. In the latter instance it is represented with its islands: Ireland, where there are no serpents (*Scocia ubi nulla anguis*), Britain and the Orkneys. The fact that it is placed near the Wheel of Fortune suggests that the artist had in mind a passage of Boethius in which the sea is referred to as a symbol of the changeableness of human fortune.[10] It is almost certain, however, that there is also an even broader symbolism. The sea as we have seen is the figure of the Church; in the pavement of Turin it surrounds the Wheel of Fortune, obviously a representation of the infelicity of the life of man in the world, to indicate that the Church surrounds the accidents of man's destinies in the world as the ocean flows around the continents.

For in the mediæval conception the ocean flowed around the world.[11] Honoré of Autun[12] conceives of the continents of Africa and Europe as consisting each of a semicircle separated by the Mediterranean, and surrounded by the ocean, as by a ring of water. From the Mediterranean flows outward a current which at the eastern and western extremities of the sea divides

[7] For an analysis see below, Vol. III, pp. 445 f. [8] LXXXIV, 1006.

[9] Lamberton, in *American Journal of Archæology*, XV, 516.

[10] *Phil. Cons.*, II, 3.

[11] Isidore of Seville, *Etymologiarum*, XIII, 15, ed. Migne, *Pat. Lat.*, LXXXII, 484.

[12] Honorii Augustodunensis, *De Philosophia Mundi Libri Quatuor*, Lib. III, Cap. XIV, ed. Migne, *Pat. Lat.*, CLXXII.

itself into two branches, one flowing north, the other south. The tides are produced by the meeting of these currents, and the winds are also produced by the same means. Zephyrus, the west wind, is born from the gap which is left by the two receding currents at the west end of the Mediterranean; Eurus, the east wind, from the similar gap at the east end; Boreas, the north wind, from the meeting of the two currents in the north; Auster, the south wind, from their meeting in the south. The intermediate winds are caused by the meeting of two of the cardinal winds. We now see the reason why the sea is placed about the Wheel of Fortune in the Turin pavement, and why the winds are associated with the sea.

No feature of geography gave rise to more profound speculation by the church-fathers than the four rivers of Paradise. St. Augustine considers that Paradise is a symbol of the life of the saints, and its four rivers of the four cardinal virtues: Prudence, Fortitude, Temperance and Justice; and also that it is the figure of the Church, and its four rivers of the four Evangelists.[13] St. Ambrose carries the symbolism even further. The fountain of Paradise is Christ, which divides into four rivers: Phison, the figure of Prudence; Gehon, the figure of Temperance; Tigris, the figure of Fortitude, and Euphrates, the figure of Justice. The four rivers, moreover, are also symbolical of the four Ages of the World. For the First Age which extended from the beginning of the world to the time of the flood, was the age of Prudence; in this time lived Abel called just by God, Enos the man made in the image of God who began to call upon the name of the Lord, Enoch who was carried up to Heaven, and Noah who was also just. The Second Age is the time of Abraham, Isaac, Jacob and other patriarchs distinguished by a certain chaste and pure temperance in religion. The Third Age is the time of Fortitude since in it lived the prophets who were always persecuted. The Fourth Age, which is the time of Christ, is the age of Justice.[14] Isidore of Seville ignores the

[13] S. Augustini, *De Civitate Dei*, XIII, 21, ed. Migne, *Pat. Lat.*, XLI, 394.
[14] S. Ambrosii, *Liber de Paradiso*, 3, ed. Migne, *Pat. Lat.*, XIV, 296.

symbolism, but agrees with Ambrose in identifying the Gehon with the Nile, Phison with the Ganges.[15]

The rivers of Paradise were represented once in the catacomb frescos of Rome[16] and frequently in Early Christian and Byzantine mosaics.[17] In Lombard iconography they were represented in the mosaic pavement of Aosta cathedral, where they were put in parallel with the four Evangelists. In the mosaic pavement of S. Savino of Piacenza the four figures at the corners of the disk about the year are probably personifications of the four rivers of Paradise; they are placed in parallel with the four cardinal virtues. In the pavement of Novara the four rivers are personified and placed near, though not exactly in parallel with, the four Evangelists. In the frescos of Civate the fountain of Paradise is represented by Christ. From His feet flow the four rivers which are put in parallel with the four Evangelists, the four virtues, and apparently also the four archangels.

[15] Isidore of Seville, *Etymologiarum,* XIII, 20, ed. Migne, *Pat. Lat.,* LXXXII, 490.

[16] Lamberton, in *American Journal of Archæology,* XV, 515.

[17] *E.g.,* at SS. Marcellino e Pietro and SS. Cosma e Damiano of Rome and S. Vitale of Ravenna.

Book III. The Mirror of Morals

CHAPTER I. THE VIRTUES AND VICES

The canon of the four cardinal virtues of Prudence, Fortitude, Temperance and Justice had been established by Plato.[1] From Plato it was taken over by Isidore of Seville[2] and other church-fathers who passed the conception on to the Middle Ages. In Lombard iconography the four cardinal virtues are represented by personifications in the mosaic pavement of S. Benedetto Po (1151), and by genre scenes in the pavement of S. Savino of Piacenza—1107—(Plate 183).

With the cardinal virtues were associated the three theological virtues of Faith, Hope and Charity derived from St. Paul.[3] These three personified as virgins with crowns are represented on the portal of the cathedral of Verona (1139).

Although the Middle Ages frequently departed from, and elaborated upon, this simple classification of the four cardinal and three theological virtues, the canon was nevertheless deeply impressed upon mediæval thought,[4] and is frequently to be traced as an underlying principle even in those iconographic representations which seem to depart most widely from the classification.

Tertullian appears to have been the first to have personified

[1] *Republic,* IV, 428 f.

[2] *Etymologiarum,* II, 24, ed. Migne, *Pat. Lat.,* LXXXII, 141.

[3] I Cor., xiii, 13.

[4] Dante constantly alludes to the four cardinal and the three theological virtues. The stars of Purgatory appear in two constellations, one of three, the other of four (*Purg.,* VIII). The seven sins with which the angel brands Dante (*Purg.,* IX, 112) refer to this classification. Virgil is said to have possessed the four cardinal but not the three theological virtues. Three women symbolizing the theological virtues accompany the chariot of the Church, four others obviously the cardinal virtues follow (*Purg.,* XXIX, 123). Of the seven deadly sins the theological have two horns, the cardinal one each (*Purg.,* XXXII, 142). Indeed the whole scheme of the Purgatorio is dominated by this conception. (See Tozer's prefatory note to Canto X).

the virtues and vices. He speaks of Wantonness overcome by Chastity, Perfidy killed by Faith, Cruelty struck down by Pity, Petulance mastered by Modesty.[5] It was, however, as is well known, Prudentius who in his *Psychomachia* was the first to establish the tradition of the personification of the virtues and vices, and to conceive the idea of a battle waged between the two in the soul of man. This poem is of such vital importance for later iconography that it will be well to examine it at some length.

The epic begins with a brief preface containing an invocation to Christ Who ever takes pity on the hard labours of man, and Who, understanding the sedition which often arises in his disturbed senses, has placed in him virtues to combat the vices. Then the action begins. The first combatant to seek the field is Faith. Her behaviour is wild and uncouth, her shoulders naked, her hair uncut, her arms bare. In her enthusiasm she has forgotten her sword and her shield, but without thought she rushes into war. Behold! The worship of the ancient gods gathering its strength dares first to strike Faith who is shouting a challenge. Faith overthrows her enemy whose head and temples are ornamented with garlands, forces her mouth, satiated with the blood of beasts, to bite the dust, and kicks her head as her eyes roll in death. The broken cords of the neck of Paganism contract, she dies slowly heaving long sighs. The victorious army of the virtues exults. Queen Faith spurs them on, overcoming the enemy by a thousand martyrs; then she crowns her brave allies with flowers, and orders that they be clothed in flaming purple.

The next virtue to take the field is Modesty who shines in her well-polished armour. She is assailed by the Sodomite, Voluptuousness, who is surrounded by torches. The vice thrusts in the face of the virtue a pitchy-pine fagot and burning sulphur, attacks her with the shameless light of the flame and tries to suffocate her with the foul smoke; but the fearless virtue strikes the right hand of the flaming fury; then drawing her sword she cuts the throat of her enemy. The latter vomits smoke mixed with dirty blood; exhaling her foul spirit, she pollutes the

[5] Tertulliani, *De Spectaculis*, XXIX, ed. Migne, *Pat. Lat.*, I, 735.

neighbouring air. The virtue addresses her fallen enemy referring to the victory of Judith over Holofernes. Modesty then washes her tainted sword in the waters of the Jordan, abolishing by baptism the taint of the wicked enemy. Nor even after this is she content to put the sword away in its sheath, fearing lest it should rust; instead she consecrates it on the altar of a Catholic temple.

Patience stands looking at the dead body of Voluptuousness; Wrath sees her from afar, Wrath whose mouth foams and whose eyes are bloody, and immediately challenges Patience to battle. Wrath impatiently demands the reason of the delay; her throat rattles, and she shakes the crest of her helmet. She hurls a spear at Patience, but the virtue catches it on her shield, for Patience has a triple shield of the hardest steel, and scale armour of iron and leather. Therefore Patience stands quietly amid the rain of missiles, and unmoved by the onset of the furious monster, awaits quietly until Wrath wears herself out. Finally Wrath is quite exhausted by having hurled so many javelins, and her arms hang in fatigue. She nevertheless seizes her sword and strikes Patience on the head. The bronze helmet of the virtue rings like a bell, but the sword breaks in pieces. Wrath angrily throws the useless hilt from her, and rushes to her own destruction. She picks up one of the spears which she had thrown, fastens the wood in the ground, and turning the point towards herself runs upon it piercing her lung. Triumphant Patience returns to the ranks of the virtues accompanied by Job.

Inflated Pride on her mad horse flies through the distended hosts. She has covered the horse with a lion's skin and fine armour that he make a striking appearance, and she has accumulated on her head a tower of carefully dressed hair. Her cloak of fine linen hangs from her shoulders, being fastened by a knot over her breast; a thin scarf blows from her neck and waves in the breeze. The horse is not less proud, and bears the bit impatiently; he neighs, turns hither and thither, and arches his neck when he is restrained. Pride towers high above both lines of battle, and challenges the army of the virtues. Humility prepares for war with few soldiers and few arms; she is a queen

indeed, but she needs outside aid, and she is insufficiently equipped. Therefore, she has taken as a colleague Hope whose standard bears as a device the riches of the heavenly kingdom. When Pride sees Humility instructed by the simple, and making no display of her armour, she taunts her with bitter words. She boasts that Adam would still be naked had she not given him clothes. Looking over the ranks of the Virtues she despises Justice who is ever needy, Honesty who is poor, Sobriety who is arid, Fasting whose face is white, Decency who is pale, and Simplicity who is open. Then the vice spurs her horse and attacks her enemy, confident that she will overwhelm her at the first charge; but she falls in a ditch which Fraud had secretly made and covered with twigs. Pride is thrown over the neck of her horse and lies at the feet of Humility, her legs broken. The virtue of placid countenance, perceiving the fall of her enemy, advances slowly, raising her head, her beautiful face moderately suffused with joy. Her faithful ally Hope still aids her, offers her an avenging sword, and inspires her with the love of praise. Humility seizes the hair of her enemy with her left hand, and severs the head which she holds up bleeding. Then Hope speaks to the dead vice citing the story of David and Goliath; she then spreads her golden wings and flies away to Heaven. The virtues watch her departure, and wish to go with her, but are detained by the earthly warfare.

For at this moment appears the enemy Luxury, who wastes after having over-eaten, whose hair is smeared, whose eye is bleary, whose voice is languid, whose strength has been sapped by pleasures, who lives for the joy of the senses. Although enervated she petulantly demands pleasures, then she vomits up her undigested supper. She had been sitting at table until the morning, when she heard the hoarse trumpets, and left her cups. She comes to the battle reeling with wine, not on foot but drawn in a cart. She shoots not arrows, nor does she hurl lances nor brandish spears, but she throws violets lasciviously, and fights with the petals of roses, and flings baskets of fruit amid the ranks of the enemy. After having flattered the virtues, she breathes tender love into their relaxed muscles; her bad sweet

odour emanates from her mouth, her breasts, her arms. She breaks the strength of her enemies, and sucks away the power of armed biceps. Meanwhile men admire her cart, which shines with the reflected light of gems. The reins, which are made of metal plates, rustle. The axle is of solid gold, the wheels of ivory with silver spokes. The whole army of the virtues is about to be seduced, but Sobriety comes to the rescue, bearing the banner of the cross. She stimulates her friends by her example and by her words, reminding them of Moses striking the rock, of the manna in the desert, and of the fasting of Jonathan as examples of sobriety, and inciting them to war by the example of David and Samuel. When she has finished speaking, she opposes the cross of the Lord to the raging four-horse chariot of Luxury, placing the venerable wood against the bridle. The horses immediately turn in flight, the lady charioteer looses her reins and falls to the ground, where she is caught in the wheels of the chariot. Sobriety gives her the final *coup de grâce* with a millstone which she hurls against her mouth. The teeth of Luxury are knocked out, her tongue is torn to pieces, her throat broken and filled with blood. She vomits up this unaccustomed food. Sobriety exults, and the followers of Luxury, among whom are Play, Petulance, Love and Discord, fly in disorder.

Sobriety refrains from stripping her fallen enemy, but Avarice comes along with a capacious wallet, and gathers up everything which the softer vices had been obliged to drop. She is accompanied by various furies, Care, Hunger, Fear, Anxiety, Perjury, Paleness, and the like. Like rabid wolves crimes spring up everywhere nursed by mother Avarice on black milk. One man Avarice persuades to put out his light and wander in darkness amid many stumbling blocks. She shows another man a false bait, and when he seeks it, strikes him. Avarice is the worst of all vices. The priests oppose Avarice, but would have been worsted by her, had not Reason come to their aid. Reason wounds Avarice slightly on the head;[6] that filthy agent of destruction is amazed, and the more so that her own weapons are so easily repelled. Avarice makes a long speech in which Judith

[6] I believe this is the meaning of the involved line 507.

and Achan are cited as typical examples of the vice; then she takes off her armour, puts on honest raiment, and pretends to be a virtue, although her nature is really unchanged. Men are deceived by this appearance, so that they more readily fall a prey to the furies who follow the train of Avarice. Even the virtues are doubtful as to her identity. Then suddenly Generosity leaps to the aid of her allies, attacking Avarice. She throws off all weight from her shoulders, and goes naked to the contest. This virtue had formerly been rich, but she has given all to the poor. With her strong arms she chokes the trembling, dry throat of Avarice, until the latter dies. Then Generosity puts her knee upon her, kicks her, and pierces her side. She strips the spoils from her dead body to give to the poor.

Concord gives the signal for the victorious Virtues to return to camp. She marshals the host in perfect order, like that in which Israel marched through the Red Sea, which was destined later to overwhelm the disordered ranks of the Egyptians. On entering the camp, however, Concord is treacherously wounded in the left side by a blow of the sword. The armour of the Virtue prevents the weapon from penetrating her vitals. The hidden enemy is Discord, who has stripped off her cloak, and thrown away her whip with lashes of serpents and perfumed her hair with oil, but has kept under her garment the sword with which she attacks Concord. The virtue is disturbed, but Discord, who betrays herself by her guilty conscience and pallor, is dragged forward. The virtues with drawn swords demand to know who she is. She makes answer: "Discord, whose surname is Heresy. God is to me of two colours, now He appears greater, now less, now double, now single. My teacher was Belial." Faith, the queen of the virtues, can bear no longer the blasphemies of the captured monster. The vice is seized by innumerable hands, she is torn to pieces, and scattered to the winds of Heaven:

Non tulit ulterius capti blasphemia monstri
Virtutum regina Fides: sed verbo loquentis
Impedit, et vocis claudit spiramina pilo,
Pollutam rigida transfigens cuspide linguam

Carpitur innumeris ferialis bestia dextris:
Frustatim sibi quisque rapit, quod spargat in auras.
Quod canibus donet, corvis quod edacibus ultro
Offerat, immundis cœno exhalante cloacis
Quod tradat, monstris quod mandet habere marinis.
Discissum fœdis animalibus omne cadaver
Dividitur: ruptis Heresis perit horrida membris.

After Discord has been killed, the virtues enter in peace into their castle.[7] Such is the *Psychomachia* of Prudentius.

This poem, and especially the final scene of Faith overcoming Discord, was a favourite source of inspiration for Lombard artists. In the mosaic of S. Maria Maggiore of Pavia (Plate 171, Fig. 1) is represented Faith striking down Discord, and Faith and a young man dismembering Discord, and feeding her limbs to a wolf and a crow. The correspondence with Prudentius is so literal that the mosaic must have been directly inspired by the poem. In the mosaic of the Campo Santo of Cremona (Plate 85, Fig. 1) we find again represented Faith overcoming Discord. The virtue transfixes the tongue of the vice precisely as described by the poet. In a sculpture by Guglielmo da Modena in the cathedral of Modena (Plate 145, Fig. 1) Truth is engaged in tearing out the tongue of Fraud; the action and significance is the same, but the change in the names gives some reason to think that the artist may have been only indirectly inspired by Prudentius. The most remarkable part of this relief, however, is that Truth and Fraud are put in parallel with Jacob wrestling with the Angel; the latter scene is symbolical of the strife between the Church and the Synagogue, so that it is evident that in the thought of the artist the former must have been also. Finally in the mosaic of the Campo Santo of Cremona (Plate 85, Fig. 1) is represented a duel between Cruelty and Impiety which seems like an echo of the *Psychomachia,* although it corresponds with no scene described by Prudentius.

The personification of the virtues and vices from the time of Prudentius was a favourite motive with mediæval poets. Ennodio personifies Modesty as a fecund virgin, and contrasts

[7] Prudentii, *Psychomachia,* ed. Migne, *Pat. Lat.,* LX, 11-90.

her with Shamelessness. He also introduces Chastity and the two arts Rhetoric and Grammar.[8] In imitation of Prudentius was written a poem upon the *Psychomachia* which has been attributed to Ambrose of Benevento (flourished c. 778). Like a sermon it begins with a quotation from II Timothy, iii, 12: and all that will live godly in Christ Jesus, shall suffer persecution. The poet proceeds to observe that the persecution meant in this text is not that of the material enemy but that of the soul by the vices. Like Prudentius he brings forward in duel each virtue and the opposite vice, but the battle is not one of fisticuffs but of words. Pride is first encountered by Humility, then Vainglory by Reverence, Hypocrisy by Religion, Contempt by Discipline, Envy by Sympathy, Hate by Love, Slander by Truth, Wrath by Patience, Impudence by Pity, Fear by Confidence, Worldliness by Spirituality, Sloth by Activity, Unsteadfastness by Resolution, Despair by Faith, Cupidity by Otherworldliness, Cruelty by Pity, Fraud by Innocence, Untruthfulness by Truth, Gluttony by Fasting, Hilarity by Serenity, Garrulousness by Taciturnity, Luxury by Chastity, Spiritual Fornication by Cleanness of Heart, Love of the World by Love of Heaven. It is evident that the number of virtues and vices has vastly increased over the original seven, and over those introduced by Prudentius.[9]

Under the veil of a battle of the virtues and vices a political satire was written by Rutebeuf. Humility presses Pride to the ground with her shield; Generosity overcomes Avarice; Good Nature, Wrath; Charity, Envy; Fortitude, Laziness; Abstinence, Gluttony; Chastity, Luxury.[10]

The *Anticlaudianus* of Alain de Lille ends with a psychomachia. The first to enter the list is Discord whose horses are Envy, whose chariot is Rage, whose arms are Fury, whose charioteer is Wilfulness, whose arm-bearer is Dissent, whose companion is Wrath, at whose right is Terror, at whose left is

[8] Ennodius, CDLII (opusc. 6), ed. Vogel, M. G. H., *Auct. Antiq.*, VII, 310 f.

[9] *De Conflictu Vitiorum et Virtutum*, ed. Migne, *Pat. Lat.*, XL, 1091.

[10] Rutebeuf, *La Bataille des Vices*, ed. Jubinal, 1876, II, 204; cf. *De la Mort Larguece, ibid.*, II, 375; *La Voie de Paradis, ibid.*, II, 169.

Disaster, upon whose footsteps tread Death and Failure, and whose followers are Impiety, Avarice, and others of like colour. In behalf of the man who must fight these vices there come forward Poverty with arms taken from the poor, who rushes heedlessly into the combat knowing no fear; Hope who gives him horses, Chastity who gives him reins, Concord who becomes his armour-bearer, Fame who becomes his herald, Reason who stands at his right, Constancy who stands at his left, Modesty who is his general, and Prudence who is his tribune. Discord begins the battle, but is beheaded; Excess is overcome by Moderation, Pride by Reason, Vengeance by Tolerance, Luxury by Sobriety, Imprudence by Wisdom, Sloth by Alertness, Frivolity by Seriousness, Waste by Utility, Laziness by Study, Foolishness by Sense, Nonsense by Silence, Impiety by Piety, Fraud by Faith, Avarice by Generosity.[11]

In other parts of the same poem the author personifies various virtues. In the face of Concord shines the image of God; although unpinned, her hair lies smooth, not ruffled by the wind, more flaming than gold. The different members of her person are perfectly harmonious among themselves in proportion and conjunction. Her dress is of one fashion and one colour, and fits perfectly. In her right hand Concord carries a branch of olive.[12]

Prudence is described as of placid countenance, of modest demeanor, guarded in her manner, with golden hair flowing about her shoulders, but caught by a pin and parted in front, not allowed to run riot in luxurious masses. Her eyes resemble sunshine, her forehead lilies, her nose balsam, her teeth ivory, her mouth a rose. Her healthy blush relieves the whiteness of her complexion. Her neck is not unduly long, her breasts protrude only moderately, and their firmness is a sign of her chastity; her arms are held in an easy gesture of supplication. Her garments are fine and of a colour harmonizing with that

[11] Alani de Insulis, *Anticlaudianus,* Lib. VIII, Cap. V, ed. Migne, *Pat. Lat.,* CCX, 563.

[12] Alani de Insulis, *Anticlaudianus,* II, 4, ed. Migne, *Pat. Lat.,* CCX, 501.

of her person; they do not belie her form; in her right hand she carries a pair of scales.[13]

Alain de Lille also describes a council attended by the virtues, all of whom are personified. Concord the companion of Peace comes first, then Abundance with the horn of plenty, Good Will, Youth, Laughter, Shame, Modesty, Reason, Honesty, Decorum, Prudence balancing the scales, Piety, Faith who never descends to the hypercritical love of Fraud, and finally Nobility.[14]

Hugh of St. Victor[15] introduces a long allegorical dialogue in which are personified Charity, Humility, Obedience, Mercy, Justice, Chastity and Perseverance. With these fight in continuous battle Excess, Intoxication and Sloth.

A treatise on the seven vices and the seven gifts of the Holy Spirit gives the vices as Pride, Envy, Wrath, Moroseness, Avarice, Gluttony and Luxury.[16] It is evident that mediæval writers were far from being in accord either upon the classification of the virtues and vices, or the attributes peculiar to each. The *Fiore di Virtù* emphasizes the impression of this divergence. This long and important work which was apparently written about 1300 consists of a number of chapters each consecrated to a certain vice or virtue. The opposing vice or virtue is mentioned, comparisons and examples are drawn from bestiary stories, from ancient and mediæval fables, and from the lives of the saints.

The virtue of Concord was not practised by the artists of the Middle Ages in their representations of the virtues and vices any more than by the writers, and in Lombard iconography especially the subject was treated with the greatest variety.

Avarice, the opposite of Charity the greatest of the virtues, was considered by the Middle Ages to be the greatest of all the

[13] Alani de Insulis, *Anticlaudianus*, I, 7, ed. Migne, *Pat. Lat.*, CCX, 493.

[14] Alani de Insulis, *Anticlaudianus*, Lib. I, Cap. II, ed. Migne, *Pat. Lat.*, CCX, 489. See also the description of Reason, *ibid.*, I, 10, ed. M., 496.

[15] Appendix, *De Anima Liber quartus*, Cap. XII-XVI, ed. Migne, *Pat. Lat.*, CLXXVII, 185.

[16] *Tractatus de Septem Vitiis et Septem Donis Spiritus Sancti*, ed. Migne, *Pat. Lat.*, XL, 1039.

vices, the root of all evils.[17] The vice is represented at Piacenza twice. The allied vice of Usury is there also twice portrayed.[18]

In the porch of Moissac the woman whose sex is eaten by serpents appears to represent the vice of Luxury[19] (Plate 94, Fig. 5). In the bronze doors of S. Zeno of Verona (c. 1030) the vice of Luxury seems to be thus portrayed, and is put in parallel with Eve giving suck to two children (Plate 232, Fig. 1). At Sagra S. Michele serpents bite the breasts and feet of women.

In the cathedral of Piacenza, Patience and Humility are twice represented; they are without distinguishing attributes, except that Patience once has a book. On the bronze doors of S. Zeno of Verona (c. 1030) a virtue with clasped hands is generally identified as Faith. Another with scales is generally called Justice, although the texts of Alain de Lille we have cited above would perhaps give reason for renaming this figure Prudence. A virtue with a lamp has been christened Vigilance, and one with a crown and sceptre Magnanimity. All these identifications are exceedingly doubtful, as is also that of Envy at Piacenza.

Undoubtedly the most logical classification of the virtues and vices made during the Middle Ages was that of St. Thomas Aquinas.[20] All the minor virtues and vices are made to proceed from the three theological and four cardinal virtues. Rutebeuf groups together Humility, Pity and Concord as a trinity, makes Generosity a niece of Pity, and Humility a cousin of Obedience.[21] A somewhat similar classification was undertaken by Peter Lombard. None of these sources, however, exactly corresponds with the sculptures of the baptistery of Parma. Here are represented four principal virtues—Faith, Hope, Charity and Chastity—portrayed as crowned and seated virgins; in their

[17] *De Substantia Dilectionis*, attributed to St. Augustine, ed. Migne, *Pat. Lat.*, LX, 843; *Vita S. Ambrosii*, auctore Paulino, ed. Migne, *Pat. Lat.*, XIV, 44; Salimbene, ad ann. 1262, ed. Parma, 1857, 242.

[18] With these representations compare Dante, *Purg.*, X, 130.

[19] Émile Mâle, *Religious Art in France of the XIII Century*, 119; *L'Art Religieux de la Fin du Moyen Age en France*, 516; Cahier et Martin, *Nouveaux Mélanges, Ivoires*, 259.

[20] *Summa*, Secundæ Secundæ.

[21] *La Voie de Paradis*, ed. Jubinal, 1876, II, 190; *ibid.*, III, 211.

hands they hold two flowers from each of which emerges a woman's head representing a secondary virtue. The thought evidently is that from each of the principal virtues necessarily follow two minor virtues. Thus Faith holds in her hands Justice and Peace; Hope, Prudence and Modesty; Charity, Piety and Liberality; Chastity, Patience and Humility.

In addition to personifications the virtues and vices were sometimes portrayed in Lombard art by means of scenes representing examples of the virtue or vice in question. Thus in the bronze doors of S. Zeno of Verona (c. 1030) Samson and the lion seems to typify Fortitude. It is probable that this scene elsewhere may often have the same significance.[22] A sculpture representing nude persons struggling at Sagra S. Michele (c. 1120) perhaps represents the vice of Discord, as seems to be indicated by the inscription.[23] In the mosaic pavement of S. Savino of Piacenza (Plate 183) the four cardinal virtues are represented by genre scenes. A duel stands for Fortitude; Justice is represented by a scene which apparently represents a king administering justice; Prudence is portrayed by a game of chess; and Temperance, by a drinking scene. It is probable that the history of Judith and Holofernes in the pavement of S. Maria Maggiore at Vercelli was intended to represent the virtue of Temperance in strife with the vice of Intemperance.[24]

It is possibly an illustration of the virtue of Justice and of the opposite vice Injustice that is portrayed on a capital of the campanile of Modena, sculptured with a series of reliefs depicting upright and iniquitous judges (Plate 142, Fig. 5). It will be remembered that St. Thomas has much to say *à propos* of the virtue of Justice regarding judges and their verdicts.[25]

[22] See below, p. 395. [23] *Domus est pacis causas deponite.*
[24] S. Ambrosii, *Liber de Elia et Jejunio,* IX, ed. Migne, *Pat. Lat.,* XIV, 741.
[25] *Summa,* Secundæ Secundæ, Quaestio 67 f.

CHAPTER II. THE WHEEL OF FORTUNE

Pliny has discanted upon the instability of human fortune,[1] but it was Boethius who first fixed the conception of the Wheel of Fortune destined to become so popular during the Middle Ages. The passage from the philosopher, or I should rather say poet, which deals with this subject is striking. "Thou hast given thyself into the hands of Fortune to be governed, thou must comply with the character of thy mistress. Wouldst thou attempt to hold back the turning wheel, O, stupidest of men? If Fortune commenced to be constant, she would cease to be." Then follows a poem: "When the proud right hand of Fortune revolves changing destinies, these move with the swiftness of rushing waters. Sometimes the cruel and treacherous mistress drives down terrible kings, at other times she raises up the humble countenance of the conquered. She does not hear the miserable, nor does she care for weeping, nay she laughs at the groans which she herself has caused. Thus she plays, thus she tries her strength." Fortune then speaks. "This is our power, we play this unending game; we turn the wheel quickly, and we rejoice to make those who have been low high, those high low. Mount if thou wilt, but on this condition: that thou shalt not consider it an injury to descend when my decree demands it. Wast thou ignorant of my nature?"[2]

It was well known that the work of Boethius enjoyed great popularity during the Middle Ages. The author was considered a Christian and a saint. A copy of the *De Consolatione Philosophae* is mentioned in an inventory of the library of the cathedral of Cremona of 984.[3] The conception of the Wheel of Fortune was taken over by Dante.[4]

[1] *Nat. Hist.*, VII, 40 (130 f.).
[2] Boethius, *Phil. Cons.*, II, 1, 2, ed. Peiper, 26-28.
[3] *Hist. Pat. Mon.*, XIII, 1443. [4] *Inferno*, VII, 80, 94 f.

The Wheel of Fortune was frequently represented in French iconography.[5] It appears only twice in Lombard monuments. In the pavement of S. Salutore of Turin, Fortune wearing a diadem is seen turning her wheel, raising the part on her right, lowering that on her left. To her right is a crown, the prize of those who are on the favoured side of the wheel. On top of the wheel is a crowned king bearing a sceptre, at the bottom a nude prostrate person.

The other representation is in the façade at S. Zeno of Verona (Plate 224, Fig. 1). The wheel is represented by the rose-window, the figure of Fortune is omitted. On top is a king, at the bottom a nude prostrate figure. On one side are persons rising, on the other figures falling. The idea of combining the Wheel of Fortune with a rose-window seems to have been derived from French iconography (compare St.-Etienne of Beauvais, Plate 224, Fig. 2).

[5] Didron Aîné, *Symbolique Chrétienne, La Vie Humaine,* in *Annales Archéologiques,* I, 1844, 241. The best study of this whole subject is that of Mâle, *Religious Art in France of the Thirteenth Century,* 94 f.

Book IV. The Mirror of History

CHAPTER I. THE FIRST AGE OF THE WORLD

The history of the world was divided by mediæval thinkers into different ages. The number of these periods varied considerably, and was probably often determined by the symbolism which the particular writer wished to give to them. St. Ambrose, as we have seen, puts the Ages of the World in parallel with the rivers of Paradise, and accordingly makes their number four.[1] The more common number, however, is six; this is, for example, the classification made by Isidore of Seville.[2] These Ages are as follows: (1) From Adam to the Flood; (2) from Noah to Abraham; (3) from Abraham to David; (4) from David to the Captivity; (5) from the Captivity to Christ; (6) from Christ to the end of the World. This became the standard division adopted by the Middle Ages. The author of the *Chronicon Imaginis Mundi* even goes so far as to state that it has been recognized *ab omnibus ystorigraphis.*[3]

The Ages of the World are plastically represented only once in Lombard iconography. In the baptistery of Parma they are placed in parallel with the Parable of the Vineyard, the six works of Mercy (Plate 165, Fig. 2) and the six Ages of Man. In later times the Ages of Man were made seven in number, and are thus represented, for example, in the pavement of the cathedral of Siena, and the famous speech of Jacques in Shakespeare's *As You Like It.* According to Didron, however,[4] the standard number during the Middle Ages was six. He states

[1] See above, p. 370.

[2] *Etymologiarum,* V, 39, ed. Migne, *Pat. Lat.,* LXXXII, 224.

[3] Ed. *Hist. Pat. Mon.,* V, 1357. See also Enoch, xciii, 1 f.

[4] Didron Aîné, *La Vie Humaine,* in *Annales Archéologiques,* XV, 1855, 413.

that six are represented in the cathedral of Canterbury where they are also put in parallel with the six Ages of the World.

In the conception of the Middle Ages history began before the creation of the world. The curtain rises on the drama of the fall of the rebellious angels. The iconographical representation of the subject seems to have been inspired directly by the familiar passages of the Apocalypse.[5] It is depicted in full detail in the cathedral and baptistery of Parma and at Borgo S. Donnino. With allusion to this scene the archangel Michael is frequently represented trampling upon the dragon, as at the baptistery of Parma (Plate 165, Fig. 3), Borgo S. Donnino (c. 1135), on the bronze doors of S. Zeno of Verona—c. 1030—(Plate 231, Fig. 1), at S. Michele of Pavia (Plate 173, Fig. 1), and on a capital of S. Salvatore of Brescia.

It is well known that following the classification of Dionysius the Areopagite, the Middle Ages divided angels into nine hierarchies of Seraphim, Cherubim, Thrones, Dominations, Virtues, Powers, Principalities, Archangels and Angels.[6] The hierarchies of angels do not seem to have been represented in art at a very early date. In the catacomb frescos angels are depicted only twice, and the earlier example dates only from the IV century.[7] On the façade of Vezzolano there appear to be represented four of the hierarchies of angels—1189—(Plate 235, Fig. 1). The cherubim are portrayed with wheels[8] and six wings; the order of the archangels is represented by Michael and Raphael, and there are two ordinary angels. The angels holding candles may possibly represent the hierarchy of Powers. A cherub with six wings is depicted in the lunette in the portal of Cemmo (c. 1110). The four archangels, Michael, Raphael, Gabriel and Uriel, are represented on a capital of S. Maria Maggiore of Bergamo (1137).[9] Archangels distinguished by

[5] Apoc., xii, 7-9; xx, 1-3. See also Enoch, x, 10, and Sicardi Cremonensis Episcopi, I, 12, ed. Migne, *Pat. Lat.*, CCXIII, 41.

[6] See Mâle, *Religious Art in France*, 8. Compare also Origenis, περὶ Ἀρχῶν, VIII, ed. Migne, *Pat. Grec.*, XI, 176; Isidore of Seville, *Etymologiarum*, VII, 5, ed. Migne, *Pat. Lat.*, LXXXII, 272; and Dante, *Par.*, XXVIII, 16 f.

[7] Lamberton, in *American Journal of Archæology*, XV, 522.

[8] Ezec., x, 9. [9] Enoch, ix, 1.

a sceptre or a sphere are portrayed on the sarcophagus of S. Agricola at S. Pietro at Bologna (c. 1100), in a fragment of S. Giovanni in Borgo of Pavia (c. 1120), at S. Michele of Pavia, at S. Pietro in Ciel d'Oro of Pavia, in the baptistery of Parma, and on the gable of Modena. Ordinary angels appear at S. Michele of Pavia (Plate 173, Fig. 1), at S. Stefano of the same city (Plate 179, Fig. 5), and in the baptistery of Parma.

The story of Genesis was a favourite one with the Lombard artists. Guglielmo da Modena, in a series of reliefs depicting the early history of the world, places first a sculpture representing the Deity in an aureole upheld by angels (Plate 143, Fig. 1). It was evidently the thought of the artist that in the beginning was God.

The works of the six days of creation were generally passed over. The creation of the animals is represented only once—by Nicolò at S. Zeno of Verona (Plate 230, Fig. 2). The creation of Adam was sculptured by Guglielmo da Modena at Modena (Plate 143, Fig. 1), and by Nicolò at S. Zeno (Plate 230, Fig. 2). The creation of Eve was depicted in the same cycles (Plate 143, Fig. 1; Plate 230, Fig. 2), and also in the bronze doors of S. Zeno—1138—(Plate 233, Fig. 1).

By the church-fathers Adam and Eve were often put in parallel with, or perhaps it would be more exact to say in antithesis to, Christ and the Virgin.[10] It is probably in reference to this symbolism that the figures of Adam and Eve are placed on the jambs of the portal at S. Antonino of Piacenza—1171—(Plate 182, Fig. 1), and the cathedral of Lodi—c. 1180—(Plate 104, Fig. 1).

The temptation of Adam and Eve was a favourite subject. The earliest representation that I know is in the mosaic pavement of the cathedral of Reggio which dates from c. 1090; others may be found at Modena—1099-1106—(Plate 143, Fig. 1), at Cremona (1107-1117), on a capital of the cloister of S. Orso of Aosta (1133) now at Turin, on the bronze doors of S. Zeno of Verona—1138—(Plate 233, Fig. 1), and in the sculptures

[10] S. Ambrosii, Sermo XLV, ed. Migne, *Pat. Lat.*, XVII, 715; S. Augustini, Sermo de Scripturis, LI, Cap. II, ed. Migne, *Pat. Lat.*, XXXVIII, 335.

of the same church (Plate 230, Fig. 2). On a capital by Benedetto (c. 1185) now in the museum of Parma, the subject is represented in a peculiar way. Adam and Eve are fully clothed and sit on a bench beneath the tree around which the serpent coils. This curious iconography was copied at Fornovo c. 1200.

God reproving Adam and Eve is represented in the cathedral of Modena—1099-1106—(Plate 144, Fig. 1), in the bronze doors of S. Zeno of Verona—1138—(Plate 233, Fig. 1), and on a capital by Benedetto now in the museum of Parma.

The expulsion from Paradise is represented almost as frequently as the temptation. It is found at Modena—1099-1106—(Plate 144, Fig. 1), at Cremona (1107-1117), on a capital of the cloister of S. Orso of Aosta (1133) now at Turin, on the bronze doors of S. Zeno of Verona—c. 1030, 1138—(Plate 232, Fig. 1; Plate 233, Fig. 1), in Nicolò's sculptures at the same church—1138—(Plate 230, Fig. 2), and on Benedetto's capital now in the museum of Parma (c. 1185).

The shame of Adam and Eve after the fall is represented on sculptures of the cathedral of Piacenza (1122-1132); in the pavement of Novara (c. 1125) the pair are represented naked except for fig-leaves in an attitude of shame on either side of a tree on which coils the serpent. Their shame is also represented on Benedetto's capital in the museum of Parma (c. 1185).

The labour of Adam and Eve is depicted in various ways. In a Byzantine ivory-carving of the Morgan collection dating possibly from the XI century Adam is seen forging an iron over an anvil, while Eve blows the bellows; in another Adam reaps wheat, while Eve carries a sheaf. The earliest representation of the subject in Lombard iconography occurs in the bronze doors of S. Zeno—c. 1130—(Plate 232, Fig. 1). Adam and Cain are seen ploughing, Eve spins, while the soul leaves the murdered Abel. In another panel (Plate 232, Fig. 1) Eve gives suck to two infants. In the cathedral of Modena, Adam and Eve are represented hoeing the ground around the roots of a plant—1099-1106—(Plate 144, Fig. 1). In the sculptures of S. Zeno of Verona (Plate 230, Fig. 2) Eve spins and nurses

two children while Adam hews wood (1138). In Benedetto's capital at Parma, Adam, stripped to the waist, hoes, while Eve spins.

The sacrifices of Cain and Abel were frequently represented in the XII century. One of the earliest, and also most interesting, examples is the sculpture of Guglielmo da Modena at Modena—1099-1106—(Plate 144, Fig. 2). The subject is represented twice at S. Michele of Pavia (c. 1100), at Sagra S. Michele (c. 1120), on the bronze doors of S. Zeno of Verona—1138—(Plate 233, Fig. 1), on Benedetto's capital in the museum of Parma, and on the capital of the XIII century in the crypt of Modena.

This scene is generally accompanied by its logical sequel, the murder of Abel by Cain, which is represented at Modena (Plate 144, Fig. 2), at S. Michele of Pavia (?), in the Porta dello Zodiaco of Sagra S. Michele (c. 1120), on a capital of the cathedral of Piacenza (1122-1132), on the bronze doors of S. Zeno of Verona—1138—(Plate 233, Fig. 1), and on Benedetto's capital in the museum of Parma (c. 1185). The Lord asking of Cain: Where is thy brother?, is represented only at Modena (Plate 144, Fig. 2).

In the view of the Middle Ages the drama of Cain and Abel did not end with the fratricide. Genesis, iv, 23-24 was interpreted to mean that Cain was subsequently slain by Lamech who thus became the avenger of Abel.[11] Cain shooting Lamech with bow and arrows is represented in Guglielmo's relief at Modena (Plate 145, Fig. 3). The blindness of Lamech is clearly expressed by the sculptor, and although the figure of Tubalcain is not introduced, as it is in the mosaics of Monreale, it is nevertheless evident that the artist was acquainted with the apocryphal legend.[12]

[11] *Quæstiones ex Veteri Testamento,* ed. Migne, *Pat. Lat.,* XXXV, 2221; Isidore of Seville, *Allegoriæ,* 10, ed. Migne, *Pat. Lat.,* LXXXIII, 101.

[12] Mâle, *Religious Art in France,* 204.

CHAPTER II. THE SECOND AND THIRD AGES OF THE WORLD

The simple Bible stories from the book of Genesis were in particular favour with the artists of the first half of the XII century, for they offered an opportunity for the direct and straightforward narrative in which the sculptors of that age especially excelled. Not that the church-fathers had failed to read symbolism and mysterious meanings into this portion of the Bible; but the artists in general were content to illustrate the obvious history, neglecting any ulterior significance. At S. Zeno of Verona, it is true, the story of man's redemption (Plate 230, Fig. 1) is placed in parallel with that of his fall (Plate 230, Fig. 2); but this example stands almost alone. As a rule the artists of the first half of the XII century were not interested in philosophy.

The story of Noah which would seem to have offered as enticing opportunities for plastic representations as the cycle of Adam and Eve, was in fact much less popular. Noah collecting the animals for the ark—that scene so dear to childhood—is represented only in the bronze doors of S. Zeno of Verona—c. 1030—(Plate 231, Fig. 1). The building of the ark is also represented but a single time, and in the same place (Plate 231, Fig. 1). Noah and his wife in the ark which floats upon the waters, were depicted by Guglielmo at Modena—1099-1106—(Plate 145, Fig. 3). In this relief the ark is represented like a Romanesque church. We have here doubtless a touch of symbolism, for according to the church-fathers the ark was the symbol of the Church.[1] It is probably with a similar symbolism that the ark is represented like an altar in the relief of Noah and the dove in the bronze doors of S. Zeno at Verona—1138—(Plate 233,

[1] S. Ambrosii, *Liber de Noe et Arca*, VIII, ed. Migne, *Pat. Lat.*, XIV, 387.

Fig. 1). Noah and his sons leaving the ark were sculptured by Guglielmo at Modena (Plate 145, Fig. 3). The drunkenness of Noah and the curse of Canaan are represented in the bronze doors of S. Zeno—1138—(Plate 233, Fig. 1).

The story of Abraham was more popular than that of Noah. According to the fathers, Abraham is the type of God the Father, who sacrificed His beloved Son for the safety of the world. The three angels who came to him signify the Trinity. His two wives, one of whom was a bond woman, the other free, signify the two Testaments.[2] Although the symbolism of Abraham is seldom clearly expressed in Lombard art, knowledge of it was doubtless one reason for the popularity of certain subjects from this cycle.

The victory of Abraham over the four kings[3] is represented in the mosaic pavement of Casale—c. 1140—(Plate 45, Fig. 2). God showing to Abraham the stars of heaven[4] is the subject of one of the panels of the bronze doors of S. Zeno of Verona—1138—(Plate 233, Fig. 1). The story of Abraham and the three angels is represented on a capital of the cathedral of Piacenza (1122-1132), on a capital of the cathedral of Parma (c. 1130-1150), and on the bronze doors of S. Zeno—1138—(Plate 233, Fig. 1). The casting out of Hagar is represented a single time—in the bronze doors of S. Zeno—(Plate 233, Fig. 1). The sacrifice of Isaac, a favourite subject from the earliest times and the transparent symbol of the Passion of Christ,[5] is represented in Lombard art on a capital of the cathedral of Parma (c. 1130-1150), on another in the cathedral of Piacenza (1122-1132), on the bronze doors of S. Zeno of Verona—1138—(Plate 233, Fig. 1), and on a capital of c. 1210 at S. Maria Maggiore of Bergamo. Abraham in glory gathering the blessed to his bosom[6] is portrayed at Borgo (1184-1196). It is notable that in

[2] Isidore of Seville, *Allegoriæ, 22*, ed. Migne, *Pat. Lat.*, LXXXIII, 104.

[3] Gen., xiv. [4] Gen., xv, 5.

[5] This subject is represented twenty-one times in the catacomb frescos of the II, III and IV centuries (Lamberton, in *American Journal of Archæology*, XV, 513). It is depicted on the sarcophagus beneath the pulpit at S. Ambrogio of Milan. At S. Vitale of Ravenna this scene is put in parallel with other symbols of the Eucharist.

[6] Luke, xvi, 22.

Lombard art there is extant not a single representation of Abraham and Melchisedec, so favourite a subject in earlier and later times.

There were few subjects in the Old Testament upon which the church-fathers meditated more profoundly than upon Jacob wrestling with the angel.[7] It was generally admitted that Jacob was the symbol of the Synagogue, the angel the figure of the Church.[8] St. Augustine explains the symbolism at length. The wish of Jacob to be blessed by the angel whom he had overcome in wrestling is prophetic of Christ. Every man wishes to be blessed by his superior, not by his inferior. Wherefore, then, should Jacob have wished to be blessed by him whom he had overcome in wrestling? As Jacob overcame the angel or seemed to overcome him, the Jews who were the seed of this same Jacob, crucified Christ; nevertheless Christ blessed those Jews who believed in Him, for it is written: I also am an Israelite of the seed of Abraham of the tribe of Benjamin. The same Jacob is therefore at once cursed (that is lame) and blessed,—cursed in the hollow of his thigh, that is to say, in the multitude of his seed, and blessed in those of whom it is said: there is a remnant saved according to the election of grace.[9] A sermon attributed to St. Augustine further explains that when Jacob says to the angel: let me go for it is break of day, it is with reference to the resurrection of Christ, for the Lord rose from the dead before the dawn.[10]

St. Ambrose and certain other fathers turn the symbolism about. Jacob becomes the symbol of the Church, for although younger than Esau (the Synagogue) he took the latter's blessing when Esau tarried too long.[11] St. Ambrose commenting on

[7] Gen., xxxii, 24-26.

[8] Isidore of Seville, *Allegoriæ*, 30, ed. Migne, *Pat. Lat.*, LXXXIII, 105; Isidore of Seville, *Quæstiones in Vet. Test.*, XXVII; *ibid.*, 266.

[9] S. Augustini, *In Heptateuchum*, Lib. I, 104, ed. Migne, *Pat. Lat.*, XXXIV, 574.

[10] Sermo Supposititius S. Augustini, *De Veteri et Novo Testamenti*, XII, 5, ed. Migne, *Pat. Lat.*, XXXIX, 1764.

[11] S. Paterii, *Expositio*, ed. Migne, *Pat. Lat.*, LXXIX, 712; S. Ambrosii, *De Jacob et Vita Beata*, Lib. II, 2, ed. Migne, *Pat. Lat.*, XIV, 647; S. Augustini Episcopi, Sermo IV, *De Scripturis*, Cap. XI, ed. Migne, *Pat. Lat.*, XXXVIII, 38; *ibid.*, Sermo V, § 6, ed. M., 57.

Jacob wrestling with the angel from this point of view meditates that whoever neglects the things of this world approaches the image and similitude of God. What is it to wrestle with God, if not to undertake the strife of virtue, to meet with one's superior and to become a nearer imitator of God? And since Jacob's faith and devotion were insuperable, by touching him God revealed to him secret mysteries, that from his seed should be born the Lord Jesus whose cross is signified by the hollow in Jacob's thigh. If Jacob limped in one leg, it is because from him there were to arise two peoples, one of whom was destined to be lame in faith.[12] In the light of these texts it is not difficult to understand the sculpture of Guglielmo at Modena (Plate 145, Fig. 1), in which Jacob wrestling with the angel is put in parallel with the virtue of Truth (that is Faith) pulling the tongue from Fraud (that is to say, the Synagogue). Jacob wrestling with the angel is also represented on capitals of S. Salvatore of Brescia—1160—(Plate 36, Fig. 6), and S. Orso of Aosta (1133).

The twelve sons of Jacob are represented in the baptistery of Parma (1196-1214), and on capitals of the cloister of S. Orso at Aosta. In the latter monument may be found a whole cycle of scenes representing the history of Jacob (Plate 13, Fig. 3; Plate 15, Fig. 3).[13]

Moses is represented among the prophets in the portal of Modena, in the frescos of the baptistery of Parma,[14] on a capital of S. Orso of Aosta, and on the portal of the cathedral of Borgo. In the latter monument Moses is one of a series of prophets typifying the commands of the Decalogue, and is put in parallel with the Beatitudes and the Apostles. Elsewhere in Lombard iconography the story of Moses is represented only in the bronze doors of S. Zeno of Verona. The scenes depicted are: Moses before Pharaoh—1138—(Plate 233, Fig. 1), marking the tau on the doorways—1138—(Plate 233, Fig. 1), killing the first-born—1138—(Plate 233, Fig. 1), the tables of the law—1138—(Plate 233, Fig. 1), and the brazen serpent—1138—(Plate 233,

[12] S. Ambrosii, *De Jacob et Vita Beata*, II, 7, ed. Migne, *Pat. Lat.*, XIV, 656.
[13] For detailed description see below, Vol. II, pp. 61 f.
[14] He bears the scroll: P[RO]FETA ESCIT A VITA E FRATRIB SV.

Fig. 1). In this last panel the serpent is represented on a cross obviously in reference to the well known symbolism of the scene.

The story of Samson and the lion[15] was a favourite one with Lombard artists, less perhaps because Samson was the figure of Christ,[16] than because the scene was understood to typify the virtue of Fortitude. Samson is depicted astride the lion the jaws of which he tears to pieces with his hands.[17] This scene is portrayed on the bronze doors of S. Zeno of Verona (c. 1030), in the pavement of the Duomo of Reggio (c. 1090), twice at S. Michele of Pavia (c. 1100), in the rinceau of Cremona by Guglielmo da Modena (1107-1117), in the north transept of S. Fedele of Como (c. 1115), in a fragment of S. Giovanni of Borgo of Pavia now in the museum of that city (c. 1120), at Vaprio d'Adda (c. 1115), on the portal of Nonantola (1121 f.), on capitals of the cathedral of Parma (c. 1130-1150) and S. Salvatore of Brescia (c. 1160), in the campanile of Modena (1167-1184), in the lunette of the portal of Castelnuovo Scrivia—1183—(Plate 50, Fig. 4), on a capital of Vezzolano (1189), and on the holy-water basin at Piobesi.[18] Samson held prisoner by two Philistines is sculptured on a capital at Sagra S. Michele, and the hero pulling down the pillars on the heads of the Philistines is portrayed on capitals of Sagra S. Michele (c. 1120) and of the cathedral of Parma (c. 1130-1150).

[15] Judic., xiv, 5-14.

[16] Isidore of Seville, *Allegoriæ*, 80, ed. Migne, *Pat. Lat.*, LXXXIII, 111.

[17] In an ivory book-cover illustrated by Martin et Cahier (*Nouveaux Mélanges, Ivoires, 2*) David is represented in the manner usually peculiar to Samson (1 Reg., xvii, 34-35). In an ancient dish of the Morgan collection assigned to the VI century and belonging to the treasure discovered at Karavás, Cyprus, in 1902, David is represented with his left knee on a lion. With his left hand he grasps the ear of the lion, and with his right hand he holds a club (Antique Bronze Catalogue, No. 7 A).

[18] The subject is also sculptured in the cloisters of Moissac, at St.-Gilles and at St.-Trophime of Arles.

CHAPTER III. THE FOURTH AGE OF THE WORLD

The Fourth Age of the World opens with the imposing figure of David which impressed itself with especial power upon the imagination of the Lombard artists. From the early times of the Church, David had been recognized as the figure of Christ.[1] This is not only because he was the ancestor in the flesh of Jesus[2] but because in his anointment was seen the figure of Christ's baptism, in his passing from a shepherd's to a king's life, the image of Christ turning from the Jews to the Gentiles, in the harp by which he charmed Saul the figure of the cross of Christ, and in the lion which he overcame the symbol of the Devil.[3]

Of the subjects connected with David the most frequently represented and also the most profound and most interesting is the so-called Dance. Since this has never been explained, it will be well to study it at some length.

Walafried Strabo comments on the twenty-fifth chapter of the first book of Paralipomenon (I Chronicles). *A propos* of the first verse, he recalls that David is the figure of Christ. In verse seven he explains that by *cuncti doctores,* 'all the teachers,' are meant those who have commentated upon the Bible; for two hundred and eighty-eight is evidently four times seventy-two, and seventy-two, as is well known, is the number of the books in the Bible. The multiple four is introduced in reference to the four cardinal virtues. The same author commentating upon the fifteenth chapter of the same book dwells at length upon the sixteenth verse: and David spoke to the chiefs of the Levites to

[1] Gregorii Episcopi Turonensis, *Psalterii Tractatum Commentarius,* ed. M. G. H., *Script. Rer. Mer.,* I, 874.

[2] Isidore of Seville, *Allegoriæ,* 80, ed. Migne, *Pat. Lat.,* LXXXIII, 112.

[3] Isidore of Seville, *Quæstiones* . . . in Regum I, 9, ed. Migne, *Pat. Lat.,* LXXXIII, 398.

appoint some of their brethren to be singers with musical instruments, to wit, on psalteries, and harps and cymbals, that the joyful noise might resound on high. The psaltery, Walafried explains, is a wind instrument with the bag in the upper part and ten stops; the instrument itself is the symbol of the Church, and the stops of the Decalogue. The harp on the other hand, which has twenty-four strings and is triangular in shape like the Greek letter delta, signifies the Church, its triangular form the Trinity, and its twenty-four strings the four and twenty elders. The lyre is also the figure of the Church. Cymbals which, when struck, give a sweet sound are the lips of the faithful. The trumpets of the priests mentioned in verse twenty-four signify the gospels. In the same commentator's prologue to the book of the Psalms we read that David appointed four thousand men to sing the psalms, not only with their voice but with musical instruments. Over these he placed as leaders Asaph, Heman, Ethan and Idithun, all four sons of Korah.[4] The same four sons of Korah are classed together by Isidore of Seville,[5] and in a poem believed to date from the IX century.[6] Walafried Strabo informs us that the four sons of Korah were the symbols not only of the four cardinal virtues, but of the four Evangelists.[7]

The ideas we have traced were given concrete form in iconography. David, the symbol of Christ, is often depicted in the midst of the four sons of Korah, types of the four Evangelists. The people who dance with joy to this divine music are the Gentiles made joyful by the message of the Gospel. This is distinctly implied by the inscription at Vercelli, where the whole representation is made a plastic expression of the psalm numbered forty-six in the Vulgate. It will be remembered that in the Vulgate psalms xlix and lxxii-lxxxii have a superscription indicating that they were sung by the choir of Asaph.[8]

The earliest representation in iconography of the Dance of

[4] Walafridi Strabi, *Glossa Ordinaria,* Lib. I, Paral., ed. Migne, *Pat. Lat.,* CXIII, 660; Prologus, *Liber Psalmorum, ibid.,* 891.

[5] *Etymologiarum,* VII, 8, ed. Migne, *Pat. Lat.,* LXXXII, 285.

[6] *Carmina Salisburgensia,* ed. M. G. H., *P. L. M. A.,* 646.

[7] *Loc. cit.*

[8] Compare II Par., xxix, 30; I Esdr., ii, 41; II Esdr., vii, 44-45; I Par., vi, 31 f.; Exod., vi, 24.

David I know is in a Byzantine manuscript assigned to the VI century and illustrated by Labarte.[9] In the centre are David and his son Solomon, on either side are three choirs of eight persons each, labelled respectively the choirs of Heman, Asaph, of the sons of Korah, of the sons of Isaar, of Ethan, and of Moses. In a Byzantine psalter at Paris described by Aus'm Weerth,[10] the Dance is represented among other scenes from the life of David. David holds a harp, and about him are represented the two warriors Cerethi and Phelethi,[11] and Asaph, Heman, Ethan and Idithun, all playing musical instruments.

A psalter of Charles the Bald[12] contains a miniature of the same subject. David in the centre plays a sort of rectangular harp, Asaph dances swinging a piece of drapery over his head, Heman has two cymbals, Ethan has a wind instrument, evidently the psaltery described by Walafried, and Idithun a trumpet.

A Bible which formerly belonged to the same monarch and is now at Paris contains a representation of the same subject.[13] In the centre David is depicted dancing; he is crowned, and carries in his hand a triangular harp of ten strings doubtless symbolical of the Trinity and the Decalogue. On either side of him are standing the two warriors Cerethi and Phelethi, about him seated in chairs are Asaph, Heman, Ethan and Idithun, all playing musical instruments. In the corners by each of the figures of the four sons of Korah is represented a personification of one of the four cardinal virtues. The symbolism is unmistakable.

In another Bible which belonged to Charles the Bald and is now at S. Paolo, Rome,[14] the Dance of David is also represented. As exactly as I can tell from Séroux' poor reproduction, David is crowned and standing between the two warriors Cerethi and Phelethi. Asaph is seated and appears to hold a scroll in his

[9] Planches, II, Plate LXXIX. [10] 5. [11] II Reg., viii, 18.

[12] Illustrated by Venturi, II, 315; described *ibid.*, 320; also by Cahier et Martin, *Mélanges,* I, 27 f. Illustrated also by Louandre, Planches, I, Plate s. n.; Texte, II, 47; Labarte, Planches, II, Plate LXXXIX.

[13] Illustrated by Venturi, II, 281; described *ibid.*, 306, and by Labarte, III, 102 f.

[14] Illustrated by Séroux d'Agincourt, V, *Peinture,* Plates XL-XLV, and described by Labarte, III, 117.

hands, perhaps also a musical instrument; Heman has a book and a psaltery; Ethan, who is seated, holds a viol; Idithun plays cymbals. In the middle are two seated figures, one of whom holds a book, and in the foreground a person writing in tablets.

Arco[15] illustrates and describes two miniatures representing the Dance of David; in one David is seated on a chair, his feet resting on a stool. The four musicians are standing and probably dancing, since their postures suggest motion; one plays the viol, another rings a bell, the third blows a trumpet, and the fourth plays a psaltery. In the second miniature the Ark of the Covenant represented as a cart drawn by oxen is seen above; David holding his square lyre stands in the centre, the four musicians play, one a viol, one a trumpet, one a lyre, and one cymbals. Numerous other figures are introduced in the background.

Cahier et Martin[16] have published an ivory book-cover on which are represented six scenes from the life of David surrounded by a psychomachia and impersonations of the virtues. The last scene is the Dance of David. David is seated as are his four companions, two of whom play harps, two viols. Heman, Ethan and Idithun are named.

In the pavement of St. Gercon at Cologne, David is represented seated between the two warriors Cerethi and Phelethi.[17] Aus'm Weerth also speaks of a miniature at S. Gallo in which David sitting on a throne and playing a harp is surrounded by four figures, two playing musical instruments, two dancing. According to the same authority an almost identical representation is also found in another miniature of the XI century in the same library. Two contemporary miniatures of S. Benedetto Po represent the same subject.[18]

One of the most important representations of the Dance of David in Lombard iconography was in the destroyed pavement of S. Maria Maggiore of Vercelli. Fortunately full descriptions are extant. Above, David was seated, but he played upon no instrument. About him were the four sons of Korah playing

[15] Tav. 6, 7; also page 19.
[16] *Nouveaux Mélanges, Ivoires, 2.*
[17] Aus'm Weerth, 5.
[18] Aus'm Weerth, 6.

upon harps and viols; below were six musicians dancing and playing musical instruments among which could be recognized the bass-viol and trumpets. The inscription mentions the *nablum* or psaltery; possibly by this word the artist understood some instrument very different from that described by Walafried. Idithun plays a triangular harp of ten strings.

In the baptistery of Parma, Benedetto sculptured the Dance of David in one of the interior lunettes (Plate 163, Fig. 3). The king sits in the middle playing the triangular harp of ten strings; he is surrounded by Asaph, Heman, Ethan and Idithun who play musical instruments, while a man and a woman with clasped hands dance.

On a capital of the campanile of the cathedral of Modena, David is represented twice: once playing the harp, and once writing songs. A woman holds a flower and dances, as does also a beardless youth; a man and a woman hold hands and dance together as in the relief in the Parma baptistery; one musician plays a wood instrument.

On the exterior of the campanile of Modena the Dance of David is also represented. David, seated and crowned, plays a harp; near by is a warrior doubtless either Cerethi or Phelethi. There are two musicians, one with a trumpet, one with a flute; a man and woman dance together holding hands; a youth dances, as does also a woman with a band on her head and holding a flower.

On a capital of the cathedral of Modena the subject is represented again in very abbreviated form. David bare-headed and beardless plays the harp, a woman stands on her head whirling a sword in her hands. There are present two other standing figures and a musician. The Dance of David is also represented on a capital in the cathedral of Piacenza. In the rinceau of Cremona the subject appears much simplified: David plays a harp, and a girl cymbals. It is obvious that a reminiscence of the Dance of David inspired many semi-grotesque sculptures of similar character.[19] On a capital of Vezzolano, David is represented playing the harp, another man the viol. On a capital of the cloister of S.

[19] See above, p. 345.

Orso at Aosta, David himself plays the viol. David is represented playing the harp at S. Zeno of Verona. On a capital of Toano the Dance of David is represented in a peculiar way. The king seems to have been confused with the persons who generally accompany him. Thus he is represented as dancing, as playing the harp, as playing a reed instrument, as holding a woman in his arms, and as a warrior riding on a caparisoned horse.

At Berceto is a peculiar parody of the Dance of David (Plate 22, Fig. 3). In the centre an animal, apparently an ass, strums the triangular harp of ten strings. To the music dance four animals which seem to be perversions of the beasts of the Evangelists, a man, a woman, and a child. The relief is obviously a travesty of Benedetto's sculpture (Plate 163, Fig. 3). Another similar parody is found on a capital of Fornovo. A donkey strums a harp, a man plays the viol, and a man and woman dance. The famous ass strumming a harp of the cathedral of Chartres, and countless other representations of a similar nature throughout Europe, are evidently echoes of this theme.[20]

The representations of David in Lombard art were not confined to the Dance. The Shepherd King had appeared in iconography as early as the third century.[21] In the plates from the treasure of Karavás now in the Morgan collection and assigned to the VI century, there are a series of scenes portraying the life of David. In the scene of David's duel with Goliath there is represented to the left a snake and three round objects. The snake is probably symbolical of the devil Goliath, and the three round objects possibly represent the three stones of the Trinity by which David, the symbol of Christ, overcame the enemy. There is perhaps a similar symbolism in the scene of David killing Goliath represented in the mosaic pavement of S. Michele at Pavia. On a capital at Piacenza is represented David killing and beheading the giant, also Saul. A capital in the museum of Parma possibly represents David with Bath-sheba and Absalom.

In the cathedral of Verona David is represented as king,

[20] The Dance of David is represented in the cloister of Moissac.

[21] Lamberton, in *American Journal of Archæology*, XV, 514.

crowned and holding a sceptre. He appears with two prophets on the bronze doors of S. Zeno of Verona. In the baptistery of Parma he holds a medallion with the bust of Matthias. He is depicted as a prophet above the nave arcade at Piacenza. Finally, he is represented with Ezekiel as the prophet and symbol of Christ in three works of art of the first rank—the sculpture of Benedetto's master in the museum of Piacenza (Plate 181, Fig. 4), and the statues by Benedetto himself at Borgo (Plate 28, Fig. 1), and in the baptistery of Parma. At Piacenza he bears a scroll with an inscription from Psalmus, xviii, 6; at Borgo a scroll with an inscription from Psalmus, cxvii, 20. The inscription of the figure of David in the portal of the cathedral of Verona is taken from Psalmus, cxxxi, 1.

According to the church-fathers Solomon was the figure of Christ who built the temple of the Lord in the celestial Jerusalem, not with wood and stones, but with all his saints. The Queen of Sheba or of the South[22] who came to hear the wisdom of Solomon, is the image of the Church which at the word of God was gathered together from the ends of the world.[23] On the baptistery of Parma are two superb statues of Solomon and the Queen of Sheba by Benedetto, evidently there placed as symbols of Christ and the Church. In only one other instance is Solomon represented in Lombard iconography. A capital now in the museum of Parma and also by Benedetto, depicts in two scenes the story of his judgment.

The Middle Ages were interested in the kings of Juda chiefly as ancestors of Christ according to the genealogies of Matthew[24] and Luke.[25] In Lombard art, at least so far as it is possible to determine, the genealogy of Matthew was always preferred. In the jubé of Vezzolano (Plate 238, Fig. 4) are represented the fourteen kings who were ancestors of Christ; the ancestors who were before David and after Josias, since they were not kings, are without crown. In a capital of the cloister

[22] Matt., xii, 42; Luc., xi, 31.

[23] Isidore of Seville, *Allegoriæ*, 92, ed. Migne, *Pat. Lat.*, LXXXIII, 113; *Quæstiones in Vet. Test.*, in Regum III, Cap. v, ed. M., 417.

[24] Matt., i, 1-18. [25] Luc., iii, 23-38.

of S. Orso of Aosta the series of kings is reduced to two: David and Jesse who holds a lily in evident allusion to the Virgin. On the bronze doors of S. Zeno of Verona the Jesse tree is represented as in French art (Plate 231, Fig. 1). Jesse is seen sleeping on the ground; from his side issues a tree on whose branches are seated the various kings. This subject was repeated by Benedetto in the baptistery of Parma.

CHAPTER IV. THE FIFTH AGE OF THE WORLD

The Fifth Age of the World is dominated by the majestic and serene figures of prophets, in the representation of which the Lombard artists perhaps rose to greater heights than in any other subject. For the Middle Ages interest in the prophets primarily centered in what they had foretold concerning Christ and the Virgin. The inscriptions upon their scrolls or books are invariably those passages from the prophetic books which were interpreted to have reference to the incarnation of Christ. Perhaps no figures in the Bible offer the artist greater opportunities for the expression of psychological and poetic content. The Lombard sculptors were remarkably successful in grasping and expressing the sibylline character of these mysterious messengers of God. In French iconography the four major prophets were often put in parallel with the four Evangelists, the twelve minor prophets with the twelve apostles. In Lombard iconography such parallelism is attempted only once. In the baptistery of Parma, Benedetto sculptured twelve prophets holding medallions with busts of the twelve apostles (Plate 164, Fig. 1).

Among the prophets represented in Lombard churches are many who, properly speaking, belong to earlier Ages of the World than the fifth. It will, however, be convenient to consider these with the others in this chapter.

The first of the major prophets is Isaiah. As might be expected, he enjoys great popularity in Lombard art, doubtless especially because his prophecy contains the familiar verse: *ecce virgo concipiet, et pariet filium.*[1] The figure of the prophet is associated with this quotation in the eastern window of the cathedral of Piacenza and at Castell'Arquato; it is also inscribed upon his scroll in the cathedrals of Cremona (Plate 83, Fig. 8), Ferrara, and Verona (Plate 217, Fig. 1). Since the scrolls of

[1] Isai., vii, 14.

other prophets in the three last named churches are literal quotations from a pseudo-Augustine sermon[2] in which this verse is also cited from Isaiah, it is almost certain that the iconographic tradition was derived from the sermon. On a capital of S. Orso of Aosta is cited the verse: *et egredietur virga de radice Jesse.*[3] In the porch of Modena, Isaiah bears a book without inscription.

Jeremiah is represented at Cremona, Ferrara (Plate 89, Fig. 1) and Verona (Plate 217, Fig. 1) with an inscription taken from the pseudo-Augustine sermon.[4] The scroll which the prophet bears on a capital in the cloister of S. Orso of Aosta, was perhaps inspired by the same source, since it cites the verse from Baruch: *hic est Deus noster, et non æstimabitur alius,*[5] quoted in the sermon. In the central portal at Modena, Jeremiah is represented without beard carrying a book.

Ezekiel at the cathedrals of Cremona, Ferrara, and Borgo (Plate 28, Fig. 2) bears a scroll with the inscription: *vidi portam in domo Domini clausam et vir non transiet per eam quam solus deus ingreditur et egreditur per eam,* which is evidently a paraphrase of Ezekiel, xliv, 1-2. The scroll of Ezekiel at S. Orso of Aosta has the verse: *patres comederunt uvam acerbam.*[6] In the cathedral of Modena, Ezekiel is without inscription.

Alone of the major prophecies, the book of Daniel contained narratives which lent themselves to plastic representation. The three Israelites in the burning fiery furnace were depicted in the bronze doors of S. Zeno of Verona—c. 1030—(Plate 234, Fig. 1) and on a capital of S. Orso of Aosta. Daniel in the lions' den, a subject which has been extremely popular ever since the earliest days of the Church,[7] was frequently represented in Lombard art.[8] It is portrayed several times at S. Michele of Pavia (c. 1100), at Vaprio d'Adda (c. 1115), in a capital now at

[2] *Contra Judæos, Paganos et Arianos,* ed. Migne, *Pat. Lat.,* XLII, 1124.

[3] Isai., xi, 1.

[4] See below, Vol. II, pp. 386, 419; Vol. III, p. 476. The credit of having recognized these quotations belongs to Mâle (*Religious Art in France of the XIII Century,* 162).

[5] Bar., iii, 36. [6] Ezec., xviii, 2.

[7] There are thirty-nine representations extant in catacomb frescos of the first four centuries (Lamberton, in *American Journal of Archæology,* XV, 511).

[8] Dan., vi, 16-22.

Villanterio (c. 1120), and in capitals of the cathedrals of Piacenza (c. 1135-1150) and Borgo (c. 1184-1196). The second experience of Daniel in the den of the lions, when, as the Vulgate relates, the angel of the Lord took Habakkuk by the top of his head and transported him to Babylon that he might carry dinner to Daniel,[9] is represented at S. Fedele of Como (c. 1115) and on capitals of the baptistery of Parma and the crypt of Modena. In reference to this story the prophet Habakkuk is represented with a bowl on the portal of Modena. In the same series of sculptures Daniel is represented beardless, carrying a book. In the baptistery of Parma he carries a medallion with a bust of the apostle James. In the cathedrals of Cremona, Ferrara (Plate 89, Fig. 4) and Verona (Plate 217, Fig. 1) Daniel carries a scroll with a quotation from the pseudo-Augustine sermon.[10] On a capital of the cloister of S. Orso of Aosta, Daniel bears a scroll with the verse: *aspiciebam ergo in visione noctis.*[11]

Hosea is represented only a single time in Lombard iconography. On a capital of the cloister of S. Orso of Aosta he bears the scroll: *et erit quasi oliva gloria ejus.*[12] Joel in the same series is associated with the inscription: *plange quasi virgo,*[13] but at Verona with the quotation: *venit dies Domini, quia prope est.*[14] Amos is represented in the baptistery of Parma, once in the lunette of the northern portal, and once in the frescos of the interior. In the latter instance and in the capital of the cloister of S. Orso of Aosta (Plate 14, Fig. 1) the prophet bears a scroll with the quotation: *Dominus de Sion rugiet, et de Jerusalem dabit vocem suam.*[15] Obadiah is represented in the central portal at Modena, and at S. Orso of Aosta. In the latter he is associated with the inscription: *perdam sapientes de Idumæa.*[16]

The story of Jonah and the whale had been extremely popular in Early Christian art,[17] since it was interpreted as a

[9] Dan., xiv, 30-40.

[10] *Contra Judæos, Paganos et Arianos,* ed. Migne, *Pat. Lat.,* XLII, 1124.

[11] Dan., vii, 13. [12] Ose., xiv, 7. [13] Joel, i, 8.

[14] Joel, ii, 1. [15] Amos, i, 2. [16] Abd., 8.

[17] It is represented fifty-eight times in the catacomb frescos of the II, III and IV centuries (Lamberton, in *American Journal of Archæology,* XV, 519).

transparent symbol of the death and resurrection of Christ. The subject appears to have appealed to the Lombard artists chiefly because the whale offered an opportunity for the introduction of those grotesque animal forms which were so dear to them. Jonah being thrown overboard is represented in a well preserved fragment (Plate 45, Fig. 5) of the pavement of Casale (c. 1140). He is represented with the whale in the mosaic pavement of Acqui (1067), four times at S. Michele of Pavia (c. 1100), and in the southern portal of the cathedral of Verona—1139-c. 1153—(Plate 216, Fig. 5). On a capital of the cloister of S. Orso of Aosta, Jonah is represented with a scroll: *de ventre inferni,* which is evidently a paraphrase of Jonah, ii, 2.

Micah is represented in the central portal of Modena, in the cathedral of Verona (Plate 217, Fig. 3) and at S. Orso of Aosta. At S. Orso he has the inscription: *periit sanctus de terra,*[18] at Verona a paraphrase of Micah, v, 2, and Matthew, ii, 6. Nahum is represented only at Aosta; he bears the inscription: *sol ortus est.*[19] Habakkuk at Verona bears upon his scroll a quotation from the pseudo-Augustine sermon;[20] at Aosta he has the inscription: *væ qui potum dat amico suo.*[21]

Zephaniah is represented in the central portal at Modena, on the baptistery of Parma where he bears a medallion with a bust of Paul, and at S. Orso of Aosta where he has the scroll: *lauda filia Sion.*[22] Haggai is represented at S. Orso with the inscription: *Ego movebo cœlum,*[23] and in the cathedral of Verona (Plate 217, Fig. 3) with the scroll: *et veniet desideratus cunctis gentibus.*[24] Zechariah is depicted in the central portal at Modena; in the cathedral of Verona (Plate 217, Fig. 3) he is represented with a scroll which is a paraphrase of Zacharias, ix, 9, and at S. Orso of Aosta with a scroll which is a paraphrase of Zacharias, i, 2. Malachi is represented in the central portal at Modena and at S. Orso of Aosta with the inscription: *Maledictus dolosus,*[25] and at the cathedral of Verona (Plate 217, Fig. 1) with the

[18] Mic., vii, 2. [19] Nah., iii, 17.

[20] *Contra Judæos, Paganos et Arianos,* ed. Migne, *Pat. Lat.,* XLII, 1124.

[21] Hab., ii, 15. For representations for Hakakkuk in connection with Daniel see above, p. 406.

[22] Soph., iii, 14. [23] Agg., ii, 22. [24] Agg., ii, 8. [25] Mal., i, 14.

quotation: *ecce ego mitto angelum meum, et præparabit viam ante faciem meam.*[26]

In addition to the four major and the twelve minor prophets, others mentioned in the earlier books of the Old Testament were represented in Lombard iconography. Of these the most interesting are undoubtedly Enoch and Elijah, who are frequently portrayed in parallel.

Enoch to whom the Scriptures refer somewhat mysteriously as having been translated to Heaven,[27] early became a favourite subject of speculation. He was glorified by the popular legends of the Hebrews into a heroic figure. In the tradition of the rabbis, Enoch became the exemplar of piety and wisdom, the friend and confidant of God, the accredited revealer of divine secrets to man.[28] The Hebraic traditions were taken up by the church-fathers. St. Augustine reflects that God has chosen in all ages a certain few men to whom He has shown a special friendship. These, very few in the early ages, became more numerous as the time of the coming of Christ approached. Before the flood only two were conspicuous, namely, Abel and Enoch. Enoch did not taste of death, but is kept removed from intercourse with men for almost the entire duration of the world, in order that it may be shown how man, if he does not sin, may be translated to the spiritual life.[29] Isidore of Seville comments that Enoch, who knew neither sin nor death, was translated from pernicious contact with the world into the earthly Paradise; there he still lives in the flesh, and at the end of the world he shall take on with Elijah the mortal state.[30]

Elijah was admitted by the fathers to be the figure of Christ. The pseudo-Augustine explains that the widow symbolizes the Church, for the former was absolved from her debts for oil, the latter from her sins by charity. Elijah bent down to revive her

[26] Mal., iii, 1.

[27] Gen., v, 23-24; Hebr., xi, 5; Eccle., xliv, 16; Eccle., xlix, 16.

[28] Sirach, xlix, 14, ed. Charles, 506; *ibid.*, xliv, 16, ed. C., 482; Enoch, lxx, 1 f.

[29] *De Mirabilibus Sacræ Scripturæ*, S. Augustini, Lib. I, Cap. III, ed. Migne, *Pat. Lat.*, XXXV, 2154.

[30] Isidore of Seville, *De Ortu et Obitu Patrum*, III, ed. Migne, *Pat. Lat.*, LXXXIII, 132.

boy; so Christ descended to save the world.[31] Isidore of Seville explains that Elijah symbolizes Christ because he was sent to the widow, that is, the Church; the two pieces of wood are the symbol of the cross.[32] There was much controversy among the fathers as to whither Elijah was translated. Some like Augustine thought he went to Heaven. Gregory placed him in the *cœlum aëreum* which he distinguishes from the *cœlum æthereum*. The rabbis believed he was consumed in the sphere of fire, and that only his spirit penetrated Heaven. Irenæus and others placed him in the terrestrial paradise. Still others asserted that the place he was translated is unknown; but all agree that Enoch and Elijah are alive and busily occupied, some say in recording the deeds of men. Elijah after his translation wrote a letter and sent it to King Joramus.[33]

It was universally admitted that Enoch and Elijah were the two witnesses referred to in the Apocalypse.[34]

An iconographic representation of the translation of Elijah is found in a catacomb fresco of the IV century.[35] Baudri describes an imaginary tapestry on which Enoch was represented.[36] In Lombard art the two prophets are constantly represented together, and probably are both symbolical of Christ. Such representations are found at Modena—1099-1106—(Plate 142, Fig. 2), at Cremona (1107-1117), and at Piacenza (1122-1132). Enoch in the earthly paradise[37] and the translation of Elijah (Plate 30, Fig. 5) were represented by Benedetto at Borgo (1184-1196). In the cloister of S. Orso of Aosta, Elijah is represented alone with the text: *faciamus hic tria tabernacula.*[38]

By Benedetto and his master the figures of Enoch and Elijah were generally supplanted by David and Ezekiel

[31] Sermo Supposititius S. Augustini, XLIV, LX, *De veteri et novi Testamento,* ed. Migne, *Pat. Lat.,* XXXIX, 1823, 1827.

[32] Isidore of Seville, *Quæstiones in Vet. Test.,* in Regum III, Cap. viii, ed. Migne, *Pat. Lat.,* LXXXIII, 418; *Allegoriæ,* 93, ed. M., 113.

[33] *Acta Sanctorum,* V, Julii, die XX, 20 f.

[34] Apoc., xi, 3; *Acta Sanctorum,* V, Julii, die XX, 20 f.; Salimbene, ad. ann. 1248, ed. Parma, 1857, 118.

[35] Lamberton, in *American Journal of Archæology,* XV, 516.

[36] Ed. Delisle, line 120. [37] See Enoch, xcvi, 6. [38] Matt., xvii, 4.

(Plate 28, Fig. 1, 2; Plate 181, Fig. 3, 4) which were given the same symbolism.

Balaam with his ass is represented on the bronze doors of S. Zeno of Verona—1138—(Plate 231, Fig. 1). In the east window of the cathedral of Piacenza, Balaam is represented with the scroll: *orietur stella ex Jacob,*[39] and in the cloister of S. Orso of Aosta with the quotation: *moriatur anima mea morte justorum.*[40]

Aaron is represented with his rod on the central portal at Modena. Nathan in the cloister at S. Orso of Aosta bears a scroll with the inscription: *Dominus quoque transtulit peccatum tuum: non morieris.*[41] Samuel is possibly represented as a prophet in the baptistery of Parma.

Job is portrayed in Lombard iconography only once. In the cathedral of Borgo he appears in connection apparently with a coffin and the Devil. The significance entirely escapes me, unless it be a graphic representation of some of Job's thoughts.[42] The story of Tobias appears to be sculptured on a capital of Almenno S. Bartolomeo (Plate 10, Fig. 7). Scenes from the book of Judith were represented in the pavement of S. Maria Maggiore of Vercelli (1148).

Several scenes from the book of Machabees, including the battle of Emmaus, were represented in the magnificent mosaic pavement of Bobbio. At Casale, Judas Machabeus hanging the head and arms of Nicanor in the temple (Plate 45, Fig. 6), and Eleazar killing the elephant, were depicted in the mosaic pavement. At Acquanegra a battle of Simon is portrayed.

[39] Num., xxiv, 17. [40] Num., xxiii, 10. [41] II Reg., xii, 13.
[42] Such as, for example, Job, xvii, 11 f.

CHAPTER V. THE EARLY LIFE OF CHRIST

The cycle of the Sixth Age of the World opens with the incarnation of Christ, and precisely at that moment when the archangel Gabriel greeted the Virgin with the words: *ave gratia plena.* This subject was represented by the Lombard artists more frequently than any other in the entire Mirror of History. The earliest example, in the bronze doors of S. Zeno of Verona (Plate 231, Fig. 1), dates from c. 1030. The Virgin is to the right and both figures are standing in an ædicule. On the archivolt of Calvenzano executed c. 1095 (Plate 42, Fig. 7) both figures are standing, but Mary is to the left. At S. Michele of Pavia (Plate 174, Fig. 1) the subject is represented with peculiar iconographic detail. Mary to the right is seated, and at her feet is one of the five young girls given her by the high priest according to the Apocryphal gospels.[1] In the portal of Nonantola (1121 f.) Mary stands to the right and Gabriel carries a book. On a capital of the cloister of S. Orso of Aosta (1133) the Virgin is crowned in obvious reference to her royal lineage, since Judah is represented near by. In the east window of Piacenza (c. 1150-1165) Gabriel and Mary are placed in parallel with the two prophets Balaam and Isaiah who had foretold the incarnation of Christ. Also in the cathedral of Ferrara the Annunciation is associated with the figures of prophets. In Guglielmo da Verona's sculptures at S. Zeno (Plate 230, Fig. 3) the Virgin is seated to the right and holds in her hand the skein of purple. In a capital at Borgo (1184-1196) the Virgin is seen spinning on a double distaff. In the fine ambo sculptures of Castell'Arquato the Virgin stands to the right. In the sculptures of S. Giovanni in Fonte of Verona the Virgin is shown standing

[1] There is an analogous representation at Angers which has been explained by Mâle, *Religious Art in France of the XIII Century*, 244.

in front of the stool and to the right; she holds in her hands the skein of purple, and two handmaidens are present.[2]

The scene of the Visitation frequently followed that of the Annunciation. Mary and Elisabeth are shown both standing and generally embracing, as in the archivolt of Calvenzano—c. 1095—(Plate 42, Fig. 7) and on the architrave of Ferrara—1135—(Plate 88, Fig. 1). At Nonantola—1121 f.—(Plate 155, Fig. 3), and in the font of S. Giovanni in Fonte of Verona the two figures are seen standing but not embracing. In the portal of the south transept of S. Maria Maggiore of Bergamo the Virgin in the Visitation is accompanied by two handmaidens. As with the similar figures occasionally introduced in the scene of the Annunciation, these bondwomen are doubtless carried over from the Apocryphal gospels. In a capital of the cathedral of Parma instead of two bondwomen, two prophets are present at the Visitation.[3]

The angel appearing to Joseph is represented on the archivolt of Calvenzano (Plate 42, Fig. 7) and on a capital of S. Abondio of Como now in the museum of that city (c. 1135).

The Nativity is represented in the bronze doors of S. Zeno of Verona—c. 1030—(Plate 231, Fig. 1). On the archivolt of Calvenzano—1095—(Plate 42, Fig. 7) it is also depicted in a simple manner according to the gospel narrative. At Nonantola, however (1121 f.), Apocryphal details are introduced. The Nativity is divided into two scenes. In the first, which is probably supposed to take place in a cave, the Christ Child is seen being washed by one of the midwives.[4] The second shows the familiar scene of the manger with the ox and ass, symbolical of the New and the Old Testament. On the font of S. Giovanni

[2] The Annunciation is also represented on a capital of S. Pietro of Bologna (c. 1095), on the southern portal of the cathedral of Verona (1139-c. 1153), on a capital and in the apse of Vezzolano (1189), in the baptistery of Parma (1196-1214) and in the apse of Borgo (1196-1207).

[3] Other representations of the Visitation are found on a capital of S. Pietro of Bologna (c. 1095), on the ambo of Castell'Arquato (c. 1185) and on a capital of Vezzolano (1189).

[4] The bath of the Christ Child is represented in a catacomb fresco of the VII century (Lamberton, in *American Journal of Archæology*, XV, 522).

in Fonte of Verona the Apocryphal legend is again followed, two midwives being introduced. The simpler rendering of the scene is found on a capital of S. Orso of Aosta (1133), at Ferrara—1135—(Plate 88, Fig. 1), at S. Zeno of Verona—1138—(Plate 230, Fig. 1) and on a capital of Vezzolano (1189).

The angel appearing to the shepherds was represented on the archivolt of Calvenzano—1095—(Plate 42, Fig. 7). On the portal of Nonantola (1121 f.) the subject is repeated. It is notable that in both these instances the sheep are seven in number; in fact this is the regular tradition in Lombard iconography, and it is only very rarely and probably for lack of space, as at Ferrara—1135—(Plate 88, Fig. 1) that the number is varied. There are generally two shepherds as at S. Zeno of Verona—1138—(Plate 230, Fig. 1); for lack of space this number is sometimes reduced to one as at Ferrara (Plate 88, Fig. 1), but on the font of S. Giovanni in Fonte of Verona (c. 1200) there are three shepherds. One other representation of this subject in the tympanum of the cathedral of Verona (1139-c. 1153) remains to be mentioned.

Herod ordering the slaughter of the innocents is represented at Borgo (1184-1196) and at S. Giovanni in Fonte of Verona (c. 1200). The slaughter of the innocents is portrayed at Calvenzano (Plate 42, Fig. 7), and S. Giovanni in Fonte of Verona. The three Magi—Caspar, Balthazar and Melchior—riding on horse-back to visit the Christ Child are depicted at Borgo.[5] The three Magi before Herod are depicted on a capital of the cloister of S. Orso of Aosta (1133) and at S. Zeno of Verona—1138—(Plate 230, Fig. 1). The Adoration of the Magi was depicted as early as c. 1030 on the bronze doors of S. Zeno of Verona (Plate 231, Fig. 1). On the archivolt of Calvenzano—c. 1095—(Plate 42, Fig. 7) all three kings are represented as bearded; on the portal of Nonantola (1121 f.) only one of the Magi is bearded, but at Ferrara (1135) only one, doubtless Melchior, is without beard. The latter is the general tradition, followed, for example, at S. Zeno of Verona—1138—

[5] See Fumagalli, IV, 279.

(Plate 229, Fig. 3) and in the baptistery of Parma—1196-1214—(Plate 164, Fig. 1).[6] In the tympanum at the cathedral of Verona (1139-c. 1153) is an Epiphany in which two of the Magi are represented on horse-back. The curious legend of the death of Herod is sculptured at Calvenzano (Plate 42, Fig. 7).[7]

The presentation of Christ in the temple is represented on the portal of Nonantola (1121 f.), on the architrave of the southern portal of the cathedral of Piacenza—1122-1132—(Plate 182, Fig. 4), at Ferrara—1135—(Plate 88, Fig. 1), at S. Zeno of Verona—1138—(Plate 230, Fig. 1), at Borgo (1184-1196), in the crypt of S. Pietro di Civate (1195), in the baptistery of Parma (1196-1214), and in the portal of the southern transept of S. Maria Maggiore of Bergamo (c. 1210).

Joseph warned by the angel to fly into Egypt is represented on the portal of Nonantola (1121 f.), on a capital of the cloister of S. Orso of Aosta (1133), at S. Zeno of Verona—1138—(Plate 230, Fig. 1), at Borgo (1184-1196), in the baptistery of Parma—1196-1214—(Plate 164, Fig. 1), in the font of S. Giovanni in Fonte of Verona (c. 1200), and in the portal of the southern transept of S. Maria Maggiore of Bergamo (c. 1210).

The flight into Egypt, at all epochs one of the most popular of biblical subjects, was in special favour with the Lombard artists. In this, as in other scenes from the life of Christ, the artists of Lombardy seem to have followed closely the simple narratives of the Gospels, and not to have introduced the amplifications with which the scene was embellished in the Apocrypha. In Lombard art the subject occurs on the bronze doors of S. Zeno of Verona—1030—(Plate 231, Fig. 1), on the archivolt of Calvenzano—c. 1095—(Plate 42, Fig. 7), at the cathedral of Piacenza—1122-1132—(Plate 182, Fig. 4), on a capital of the cloister of S. Orso of Aosta (1133), at Ferrara—1135—(Plate 88, Fig. 1), on a capital of S. Abondio now in the museum of Como (c. 1135), in the baptistery of the cathedral of

[6] Other representations of the Epiphany in addition to those mentioned in the text may be found at S. Michele of Pavia (c. 1100), on a capital of S. Abondio of Como now in the museum (c. 1135) and at Borgo (1184-1196).

[7] For details see below, Vol. II, p. 231.

Parma—1196-1214—(Plate 163, Fig. 2), and on the font of S. Giovanni in Fonte of Verona (c. 1200).

The baptism of Christ is depicted on the bronze doors of S. Zeno of Verona—c. 1030—(Plate 231, Fig. 1), on the southern portal of Piacenza—1122-1132—(Plate 182, Fig. 4), at Ferrara—1135—(Plate 88, Fig. 1), at S. Zeno of Verona—1138—(Plate 230, Fig. 1), on the font of Varese (1187), and on the font of S. Giovanni in Fonte of Verona (c. 1200). In the latter instance two angels are introduced.[8]

The three temptations of Christ by the Devil appear in Lombard art only in the architrave of the southern portal of Piacenza—1122-1132—(Plate 182, Fig. 4).

Jesus teaching in the temple appears to be represented three times in the bronze doors of S. Zeno of Verona—c. 1030, 1138—(Plate 231, Fig. 1). The scene of the merchants driven from the temple is represented in the same monument—c. 1030—(Plate 231, Fig. 1).

The raising of Lazarus, and Mary Magdalen anointing the feet of Jesus are sculptured in the cloister of S. Orso at Aosta (1133).

[8] In the Certosina altar-piece of the Morgan collection, the baptism of Christ is put in parallel with the appearance of the three angels to Abraham and Sarah. There are three angels in the representation of the baptism in the Parma baptistery (Plate 164, Fig. 1).

CHAPTER VI. THE SAYINGS AND PARABLES OF CHRIST

The plastic representation of the teaching of Christ might seem to be a task beyond the scope of any artist. The Lombards nevertheless undertook it.

The Beatitudes[1] are represented plastically on the voussoirs of the principal portal at Borgo S. Donnino (Plate 27, Fig. 3).[2] They are inscribed upon the scrolls of apostles who are put in parallel with prophets having scrolls from the Decalogue.[3]

St. Gregory the Great[4] in commenting upon the parable of the vineyard[5] explains that the householder is God, the vine the Church. The morning in which the householder first went out to hire labourers is the First Age of the World. The third hour corresponds to the Second Age, the sixth hour to the Third Age, the ninth hour to the Fourth Age, and the eleventh hour to the Fifth Age. In order to make his parallelism hold, the number of the Ages of the World is reduced from six to five. The Hebrew prophets were the workman called in the morning and in the third, sixth and ninth hours. The Gentiles were those called in the eleventh hour to whom it was said: why stand you here all the day idle? St. Gregory carries the symbolism even farther. The different hours correspond also to the Ages of Man; morning is childhood, the third hour is adolescence, the sixth hour is youth, the ninth hour is maturity, the eleventh hour is old age. The parable, therefore, signifies that a man may be called to salvation at any time in his life.

St. Augustine[6] gives substantially the same interpretation

[1] Matt., v, 3-11.

[2] The Beatitudes are also sculptured in the cloister at Moissac.

[3] Compare S. Augustini, Sermo LIII, *De Scripturis*, ed. Migne, *Pat. Lat.*, XXXVIII, 364.

[4] Homilia, XIX, ed. Migne, *Pat. Lat.*, LXXVI, 1153. [5] Matt., xx, 1-14.

[6] Sermo LXXXVII, *De Scripturis*, ed. Migne, *Pat. Lat.*, XXXVIII, 530.

of the parable. The five hours of the day are put in parallel with the Five Ages of the World and the Five Ages of Man; the reward is eternal life.[7] The explanation of Isidore of Seville is identical.[8]

The Works of Mercy were inspired by the familiar passage in Matthew.[9] Although the Scriptures only mention six, the Middle Ages generally admitted that there were seven.[10] Man comes naked into the world, he must be clothed; he hungers and thirsts, he must be given food and drink; grown to maturity, he travels, he must be sheltered; cast into prison, he must be consoled; sick, he must be visited; dead, he must be buried. The Works of Mercy, therefore, are only so many stages on the path of life from birth to death. It is therefore not astonishing that they should be put in parallel with the Ages of Man. To the six Works of Mercy mentioned in the Scriptures the duty of burying the dead was generally added. St. Augustine even includes this duty although he keeps the Works of Mercy six in number.[11] Cahier et Martin have published an ivory book-cover on which are represented six Works of Mercy.[12]

In the baptistery of Parma the Parable of the Vineyard is put in parallel with the Works of Mercy, the Ages of Man and the Ages of the World. The five hours mentioned in the Parable are made six by dividing the eleventh into two. The parallelism with the Six Ages of Man, the Six Ages of the World, and the Six Works of Mercy is thereby accomplished (Plate 165, Fig. 2).

St. Augustine commenting upon the parable of the wise and foolish virgins[13] says that the virgins are symbols not only of nuns but of the entire Church, of all the souls who have received the Catholic faith. There are ten, that is to say, twice five, virgins because there are five senses of the body by means of which corruption may enter. He who avoids corruption of the

[7] See also Origenis, *Comment. in Matthæum,* Tomus XV, 28 f., ed. Migne, *Pat. Grec.,* XIII, 1338.

[8] *Allegoriæ,* 178, ed. Migne, *Pat. Lat.,* LXXXIII, 121. [9] Matt., xxv, 35.

[10] Didron Aîné, *Les Oeuvres de Miséricorde,* in *Annales Archéologiques,* XXI, 1861, 195.

[11] Sermo XCIII, *De Scripturis,* ed. Migne, *Pat. Lat.,* XXXVIII, 575.

[12] *Nouveaux Mélanges, Ivoires,* 10. [13] Matt., xxv, 1-12.

five senses is a virgin. The lamps of the virgins are their good works, the oil of the lamps is charity. The sleep into which the wise and foolish virgins alike fall, is death. The coming of the bridegroom signifies the day of judgment; the awakening of the virgins is the resurrection of the dead. Those who have oil in their vases, that is to say, charity in their hearts, are prepared to meet God.[14]

It is therefore easy to understand why on the portal of S. Simpliciano of Milan the five wise virgins are put in parallel with five sainted clerics of the Milanese church.

[14] S. Augustini, Sermo XCIII, *De Scripturis*, ed. Migne, *Pat. Lat.*, XXXVIII, 573; *De Diversis Quæstionibus*, LIX, ed. Migne, *Pat. Lat.*, XL, 44. See also Isidore of Seville, *Allegoriæ*, 198, ed. Migne, *Pat. Lat.*, LXXXIII, 124; S. Paulini Nolani Episcopi, Epistola XLI, ed. Migne, *Pat. Lat.*, LXI, 377.

CHAPTER VII. THE PASSION OF CHRIST

The entry into Jerusalem is represented in Lombard art only in the bronze doors of S. Zeno of Verona—1138—(Plate 231, Fig. 1). Jesus washing the feet of the disciples is sculptured on the same doors—c. 1030—(Plate 231, Fig. 1), and on the XIII century choir balustrade at Modena. The Last Supper is sculptured on the bronze doors of S. Zeno—c. 1030—(Plate 231, Fig. 1), on fragments of Lodi Vecchio (c. 1115) now at Lodi, and on the choir balustrade at Modena (Plate 145, Fig. 4). In the Lodi sculptures the table is seen as it were in plan, but the objects upon it are shown in elevation. This probably shows the influence of Byzantine ivory-carvings since the same convention is found in a Byzantine piece now in the Morgan collection.

Christ returning from Gethsemane and finding Peter and John sleeping is represented on the XIII century ambo of Modena (Plate 144, Fig. 4).

The betrayal of Christ is depicted on the bronze doors of S. Zeno of Verona—c. 1030—(Plate 231, Fig. 1), in the sculptures by Guglielmo da Verona (Plate 230, Fig. 1) in the same church (1138), and in the XIII century choir balustrade at Modena. In the latter instance Peter is shown cutting off the ear of Malchus. On the Modena choir balustrade is sculptured the unusual scene of Judas receiving the blood-money from Caiaphas. In the same series of sculptures are represented Christ before Pilate, and Peter denying Christ, both scenes which are not found elsewhere in Lombard art. The flagellation of Christ is represented on the bronze doors of S. Zeno of Verona—c. 1030—(Plate 232, Fig. 1), and on the choir balustrade at Modena. Carrying the cross is depicted in the same monuments (Plate 231, Fig. 1; Plate 144, Fig. 4). At Modena it is not

Jesus but Simon the Cyrene who bears the cross,[1] accompanied by a smith with hammer and nails.

It is well known that in mediæval art the Crucifixion was treated not so much as a representation of historical fact as an exposition of dogma. The death of Christ signified above all the birth of the Church and the passing of the Synagogue. Hence to the right of Christ were placed the figures of the Church (often catching the blood which flows from His side in a chalice) and of Mary and the centurion, figures of the Church. To the left of Christ were placed the Synagogue and its symbols, John and the sponge-bearer.[2] The sun was put in parallel with the Church, the moon with the Synagogue.[3]

It is a well known fact that the Early Christians avoided representations of scenes from the Passion. In the entire field of catacomb art only one fresco of the Crucifixion has been discovered, and that is not earlier than the VII century.[4]

A group of ivory-carvings and enamels in the Morgan collection will serve to illustrate the symbolism which the Middle Ages placed in representations of the Crucifixion. In a Byzantine ivory-carving assigned to the XI century Christ is seen on the cross. His head inclines to the right, towards the figure of the Virgin who is obviously the symbol of the Church. To the left stands John, the symbol of the Synagogue. Below the crucifix is seen growing out of the bowels of the recumbent figure of Adam. It will be recalled that in the view of the church-fathers Christ was the new Adam who redeemed the world by His Passion, as the first Adam had lost it by his sin. Moreover the wood of the cross was believed to be from the tree of the knowledge of good and evil that had been buried with Adam. In the Morgan carving between Adam and the foot of the crucifix is seen a group of three figures. In the centre is God the Father, on His right apparently a personification of Mercy, on His left a personification of Justice carrying a sword.

[1] Marc., xv, 21.

[2] See Mâle, *Religious Art in France of the XIII Century*, 188, 222.

[3] See *De Altercatione Ecclesiae et Synagogæ*, ed. Migne, *Pat. Lat.*, XLII, 1131.

[4] Lamberton, in *American Journal of Archæology*, XV, 517.

In another ivory-carving of the Morgan collection, apparently a French work of the XII century, Christ is shown on the cross, to His right are Mary and the centurion, symbols of the Church, to His left John and the sponge-bearer. The latter carries a stick with a sponge in his right hand, a pail in his left. Two angels perhaps recall the angel who drove Adam and Eve from Paradise.

Another ivory-carving in the same collection, a Byzantine work of the XI century, shows above the cross an angel holding a cross and the wafer of the Eucharist. To the right of Christ are Mary and the sun, to the left John and the moon. The same iconographic details, with the exception of the angel which is lacking, are found in a champlevé enamel of the German school in the same collection.

Bearing in mind the traditional symbolism of the scene, it will not be difficult to understand the not very numerous representations in Lombard art. In a sarcophagus of S. Zeno of Verona dating from c. 1100 the Crucifixion is shown with Mary to the right and John to the left of the cross. A similar representation by Guglielmo da Verona is found in the same edifice—1138—(Plate 230, Fig. 1). A rather crude sculpture of the Crucifixion was executed for the lunette of the portal at Carpi in 1184 (Plate 43, Fig. 3). Mary placed to the right of Christ undoubtedly symbolizes the Church, as John placed at His left symbolizes the Synagogue. The centurion who pierces Christ's side is placed at the right and hence is doubtless also a figure of the Church. The sponge-bearer to the left with the usual pole and pail must be the figure of the Synagogue. The two other personages introduced perhaps represent the populace. At S. Pietro di Civate (c. 1195) are two representations of the Crucifixion. One on the ciborio (Plate 57, Fig. 2) shows Mary and the sun to the right of the cross, John and the moon to the left. The other in the crypt has Mary and the centurion Longinus to the right of the cross, John and the sponge-bearer to the left. Finally at Berceto the Crucifixion is very crudely represented by an ignorant artist (Plate 22, Fig. 1). At the ends of the arms of the cross are figures of Mary and John, an arrangement

which clearly shows the influence of painted wooden crucifixes. To the right of Christ are shown Mary and a bearded figure, probably Joseph of Arimathea. To the left of Christ is a figure holding an enormous wine jar in which is caught the blood that flows from the wound inflicted by the centurion's spear. Longinus is to the left not to the right of the cross, and the wound is in Christ's left side, contrary to tradition. The head of Christ does not fall to the right but is rigidly upright. Into the scene are introduced a figure of a saint, four soldiers and two angels. The whole is treated in an irreverent, not to say grotesque and comic, spirit.

The Deposition is represented only three times in Lombard iconography—in the bronze doors of S. Zeno of Verona—c. 1030—(Plate 232, Fig. 1), in the famous altar-front by Benedetto in the cathedral of Parma (Plate 165, Fig. 4) and in the altar-front of Bardone (c. 1200), evidently copied from the one at Parma. Since the latter is iconographically and plastically one of the most important works of Lombard sculpture, the subject merits careful study.

The symbolism already familiar in the scene of the Crucifixion was carried over into the Deposition. Thus at S. Zeno of Verona (Plate 232, Fig. 1) as also in the Parma relief (Plate 165, Fig. 4), the figure of the sun appears to the right, that of the moon to the left of the cross. At Bardone the Deposition is put in parallel with the expulsion from Paradise. To the right of Christ in the Parma relief stands the figure of the Church bearing a chalice; to the left the Synagogue whose head is pushed down by an angel. To the right of Christ stands the Virgin Mary, to the left the centurion Longinus. The cross is represented like a tree the branches of which have been lopped off, in evident reference to the legend of the tree of the knowledge of good and evil. Nicodemus mounts a ladder to extract a nail from the left hand of Christ, while the body of the Saviour falls to the right supported by Joseph of Arimathea. These iconographical details became traditional in France in the XV century, and have been supposed by M. Mâle[5] to have been

[5] *L'Art Religieux de la Fin du Moyen Age*, 50.

derived from the mystery-plays; but the reliefs of Parma and Bardone prove that the tradition was known long before the plays existed. The scene of the Deposition at Parma is further amplified by the presence of John the Evangelist at the right of the cross, the three Marys, Magdalen, Jacobi and Salome and a group of soldiers playing for the garments of the Saviour.

Christ in Limbo leading forth the souls of the patriarchs[6] is represented in Lombard art on the bronze doors of S. Zeno of Verona—c. 1030—(Plate 231, Fig. 1), and on a sarcophagus of c. 1100 in the same church.

The three Marys at the sepulchre are sculptured on the bronze doors of S. Zeno of Verona (Plate 231, Fig. 1). On a capital of the cloister of the cathedral of Acqui—c. 1015-1067—(Plate 3, Fig. 5) is a curious representation of the Resurrection. Christ is seen emerging from the tomb in the presence of Mary Magdalen (identifiable by the vase or jar which she holds) and the Virgin (?); St. Peter also appears to be present. In the ciborio of S. Pietro di Civate (c. 1195) is an analogous representation with two Marys (Magdalen and Jacobi), an angel and a watchman.

The feast at Emmaus is represented on the architrave of S. Ilario of Piacenza. Christ in the middle of the eleven apostles holds a book with the inscription:

PAL|PATE ET VI|DETE Q[VI]A E|GO IP|SE S|VM[7]

To the right of Christ, Thomas touches the wound in the Saviour's side.

The Ascension is represented in Lombard art only on the bronze doors of S. Zeno of Verona—c. 1030—(Plate 231, Fig. 1).

[6] This subject is represented on an early ivory-carving at Milan illustrated by Romussi, 285.

[7] Luc., xxiv, 39.

CHAPTER VIII. LIVES OF THE SAINTS

The life of the Virgin, so popular a subject in French mediæval art, was singularly neglected in Lombardy. It was only at a very late epoch and under direct French influence that scenes from this cycle of legends were represented at all. Even so, there is extant not a single example of a subject derived from the story of the birth and infancy of the Virgin, with the exception of the presentation in the temple sculptured by Benedetto at Borgo (1184-1196). The death of the Virgin is represented in the crypt of S. Pietro di Civate (c. 1195). Mary is seen in bed, two angels receive her soul; Christ, John and five other apostles are present.[1] It is, I think, not the death, but the burial of the Virgin, that is represented on the jubé of Vezzolano (Plate 238, Fig. 4). The twelve apostles lower the body of the Virgin into the tomb. Peter is at the head, Paul at the feet; John, who is beardless, is in the middle. In the same monument this scene is followed by the Resurrection and Coronation of the Virgin (Plate 238, Fig. 4). In the Resurrection, the Virgin is seen being lifted from the tomb by two angels, one at the head, the other at the feet, while other angels swing censers. In the Coronation (Plate 238, Fig. 4) the Virgin is seen crowned, bearing a sceptre, and seated on a bench with her Son while two angels swing censers. These are the only scenes from the life of the Virgin which I have found in Lombard art.

The life of John the Baptist as depicted by the Lombard artists follows closely the narrative in the Bible. Zacharias writing: his name is John,[2] is sculptured on a capital in the cathedral of Parma. The baptism of Christ is represented in the cycle of the life of John only a single time—in the baptistery of

[1] For the explanation of this and the following scenes from the life of the Virgin see Mâle, *Religious Art of France in the XIII Century*, 246 f.

[2] Luc., i, 63.

Parma (Plate 164, Fig. 1).[3] The scene of John denying that he is the Christ is sculptured on the altar of the baptistery of Parma (1196-1214). The dance of Salome is depicted on the bronze doors of S. Zeno of Verona—c. 1030—(Plate 232, Fig. 1) and in the baptistery of Parma—1196-1214—(Plate 164, Fig. 1). In both instances this is followed by the scene of the decapitation of the saint (Plate 232, Fig. 1; Plate 164, Fig. 1). The head of John the Baptist being brought to Herodias is represented in the bronze doors of S. Zeno (Plate 232, Fig. 1).

The stoning of Stephen is represented in the cloister of S. Orso of Aosta (1133) and at the cathedral of Piacenza (1122-1132).

The story of St. George and the dragon is depicted at S. Michele of Pavia—c. 1100—(Plate 175, Fig. 1), in the mosaic in S. Pietro in Ciel d'Oro of Pavia (1132)—the princess is seen in the gate of the city above,—at S. Ilario di Baganza (c. 1140), and in the pavement of S. Prospero of Reggio (1148). In the latter instance the saint is on foot and wields a broadsword. On a capital of Modena of the XIII century are sculptured three scenes from the life of St. Lawrence. These are his condemnation, the baptism of Romano, and the execution of the saint.[4] On a capital of S. Salvatore of Brescia, St. Lawrence and S. Ippolito are shown in prison together; there follows the martyrdom of S. Ippolito. The martyrdom of the saints Abdon and Senen is sculptured on the arca of the cathedral of Parma (c. 1185). The legend of S. Margherita is portrayed at Fornovo (c. 1200).[5] The martyrdom of S. Giulia is sculptured on a capital at S. Salvatore of Brescia—c. 1160—(Plate 36, Fig. 4). This subject was of course here chosen because S. Giulia was the patron saint of the convent.

S. Zeno was so popular at Verona that it will be well to give here a résumé of the scenes of his life represented by the artists. His legend, which has been published by Maffei[6] and Biancolini,[7]

[3] For representations of this subject in connection with the life of Christ see above, p. 415.

[4] See below, Vol. III, p. 33.

[5] For detailed description see below, Vol. II, pp. 429 f.

[6] *Istor. Dip.*, 322. [7] I, 75.

relates that one day while the saint was sitting fishing in the Adige, he saw a peasant on the opposite bank in a cart drawn by two oxen suddenly overturned and thrown into the river. The miserable man was borne away by the current so swiftly that it was plain to all who saw it, that the accident had happened by the machinations of the Devil. Therefore the saint raised his hand, and making many times the sign of the cross he said: Go back, Satan, do not persecute a man whom God has made. When the Devil saw the sign, he vanished like smoke blown away by the wind, and with a terrible noise he exclaimed: If thou dost not permit me here to bind the souls of men in my power, nevertheless I shall elsewhere work thy undoing. But S. Zeno said: The Lord does not permit thee to say, thou shalt do anything against His servant. After this with a detestable shriek the Devil departed.

The miracle of the peasant rescued from the Adige is twice represented at S. Zeno of Verona, once in the bronze doors (Plate 231, Fig. 1) and once in the sculptures of Nicolò, both works of 1138.

The legend goes on to relate that after the Devil had been driven away by the saint, he entered the palace of the emperor Gallienus, and having seized his daughter, at that time the only child of her parents, began to torture her cruelly. Therefore her miserable father and all the royal house were oppressed with sadness and sorrow. One day while the girl was being seized with cruel torment, the Devil began to cry out through her mouth saying: I shall not go out from this body unless Zeno the bishop come, but if forced by his order I shall go out. As soon as Gallienus had heard this, the king began to inquire where he could find the holy man, and sent messengers to him. They found the saint sitting on a stone fishing and reading the gospel. When the soldiers had come up to him, they commenced to question him earnestly saying: What man of God art thou? Say to us if thou hast seen Zeno the bishop for whom we seek at the order of the king. And Zeno replied: For what are you sent? For I, albeit so small a servant, yet am called Bishop Zeno. Then they said to him: The king asks you to come to

him that he may see your face. Zeno replied: Why does the king who is the open enemy of all Christians wish to see humble me? And they answered and said: The king begs you to cure his daughter who is atrociously vexed by a demon. The saint answered and said to them: Lord Jesus is Omnipotent. Go before; behold I follow shortly after you, for it is fitting that the marvels of God be manifested to all clearly.

The saint receiving the embassy from Gallienus (Plate 231, Fig. 1) is represented plastically on the bronze doors and in Nicolò's sculptures at S. Zeno of Verona.

The legend goes on to relate that S. Zeno told the legates of Gallienus to take three from among the fishes he had caught; they however took four, but when they put them in a pot of boiling water, three cooked, but the fourth was taken out raw and indeed swam about unharmed in the kettle. The legates, suffused with blushes, perceiving that nature abhorred the sin of theft, returned the stolen fish to the holy fisherman, but the man of God gave them also that fish and pardoned the fault.

The miracle of the fish which refused to cook was sculptured by Nicolò at S. Zeno.

The legend continues that after this the saint went to the palace of the emperor, and so hastened his steps that he arrived before the soldiers who had been sent to summon him. As soon as he had entered the palace, and had made the sign of the cross, the Devil began to call out through the mouth of the child saying: Behold, Zeno, thou hast come to drive me out, and I, because of fear for thy holiness, can no longer stay here. Having heard this the priest took hold of the hand of the girl, and said: In the name of our Lord Jesus Christ I command thee, demon, to come out from her. And the Devil commenced to cry out with a loud voice saying: Although I be driven from here I go to Verona, and there shalt thou find me. Then the priest of Christ made the daughter of the king whole from every attack of the demon.

S. Zeno casting out the Devil from the daughter of the emperor is represented in the sculptures of Nicolò and on the bronze doors (Plate 231, Fig. 1) of S. Zeno.

The legend goes on to relate that when King Gallienus saw

that his daughter was made whole, in astonishment he gave to the saint the crown which he was wearing, saying: To such a skilful doctor who has cured my only daughter I can make no other gift. Then many of the multitude who had assembled at the palace believed in Jesus Christ, but the priest accepting the crown from the king, broke it into pieces which he gave to the poor.

Gallienus offering his crown to S. Zeno is represented on the bronze doors (Plate 231, Fig. 1).

The legend of S. Geminiano is sculptured at Modena (Plate 142, Fig. 4),[8] that of S. Orso in the cloister of his church at Aosta (Plate 14, Fig. 3),[9] and that of S. Donnino in the cathedral of Borgo (Plate 29, Fig. 1; Plate 30, Fig. 3, 5).[10] The martyrdom of S. Donnino also appears to be represented on a capital of the cathedral of Parma (c. 1130-1150).

The life of the confessor S. Ambrogio is represented upon the Palio d'Oro of his church in Milan,[11] and other scenes are depicted in the apse mosaic of the same church.[12] In both cycles is included the scene of S. Ambrogio miraculously officiating at the funeral of St. Martin. St. Martin dividing his cloak with a beggar is represented twice on the capitals of the cathedral of Parma. It is remarkable that in each instance there are two beggars. The lives of S. Anselmo and S. Adriano are represented at Nonantola.[13]

Before concluding this chapter mention should be made of an enigmatic sculpture at Fornovo which possibly represents the story of Theophilus.[14]

[8] For the details of this legend see below, Vol. III, pp. 39 f.
[9] For detailed description see below, Vol. II, p. 64.
[10] For detailed description see below, Vol. II, pp. 182 f., 189.
[11] For detailed description see below, Vol. II, pp. 589 f.
[12] See below, Vol. II, p. 585.
[13] For detailed description see below, Vol. III, pp. 102 f.
[14] See Mâle, *Religious Art in France of the XIII Century*, 260.

At S. Pietro of Bologna (c. 1095) Christ is represented between the two saints Agricola and Vitale whose relics were preserved in that shrine. At Nonantola (1121 f.) the Deity is sculptured accompanied by two archangels each of whom carries a flowering sceptre and a paten with four hosts. On the architrave of Cremona (1129-1141) Christ appears in the midst of the apostles who were doubtless originally twelve in number (Plate 83, Fig. 4). He is surrounded by an aureole and raises His right hand in benediction.

Christ was not seldom thus represented with His hand raised in benediction, as, for example, in the arched corbel-tables in the apse of Rubbiano (c. 1130). Frequently instead of the entire figure of Christ there was represented only the hand with two fingers raised. This convention is found in the fragments of the church of S. Antonino of Quattrocastella (Reggio), now assembled in the museum of Canossa.[1] At S. Zeno of Verona the significance of the hand is explained by the inscription: *dextra Dei gentes benedicat sacra petentes,* and in the ambo of Castell'Arquato by the similar legend: *dextra Dei cœlum totum benedicat et œvum. Amen.* Other examples of the representation of the hand of God may be found in the southern portal of Castell'Arquato and in the cathedrals of Piacenza and Ferrara.

Christ between S. Bassiano and the Virgin is represented in the lunette of Lodi (c. 1180). Christ between St. Peter and St. Paul is sculptured on a fragment of church-furniture coming

[1] The fragments which include a lunette and an architrave are said to be remains of the restoration executed by Matilda in 1112; nothing in the style would seem to contradict this assertion. The lunette is decorated with grotesques; a naked putto is seen wrestling with two monsters. The archivolt has a guilloche of which the circles are alternately very large and very small. In the large central circle is the hand raised in benediction, in the others are rosettes or grotesques. The spaces outside are also filled with rosettes and leaves.

from the cathedral of Verona (Plate 217, Fig. 4), evidently with special reference to the rights of the pope. The same subject is found on the ciborio of S. Ambrogio (Plate 121, Fig. 2), but Peter is to the left of Christ. The entire Trinity is represented on the façade of Vezzolano (Plate 235, Fig. 1). God the Father is in the gable, Christ in the biforum, and the Holy Ghost in the tympanum (1189).

Christ in an aureole supported by two angels is depicted at S. Pietro di Civate. The inscription:

Sacris spiritibus fertur super æterna Christus
Sic veniet mundi iudex in fine trementibus

makes clear the precise meaning of the sculpture. The Deity with the inscription: *Ego sum Alpha et Omega* is represented in the baptistery of Parma. The letters *A* and *O* are placed on either side of Christ in the XIII century ambo of Modena. In the transept portal at Piacenza (c. 1200) Christ appears between S. Giustina and an angel; Christ in glory surrounded by symbols of the Evangelists and adored by the Virgin and angels is represented at Bardone (c. 1200).

It has already been remarked that scenes from the life of the Virgin are extremely rare in Lombard art. The same observation applies also to statuesque representations of the Madonna. In addition to the few already mentioned, such exist only at S. Michele of Pavia (c. 1100), above the nave arcade in the cathedral of Piacenza, in the lunette of the northern portal at Castell'Arquato—in this instance the Madonna is placed between St. Peter holding the keys and an angel with a scroll (Plate 48, Fig. 3),—and at Borgo. In the latter case the Madonna holds a flower in addition to the child, and is seated in a vine. The symbolism is explained by the inscription.[2]

John the Baptist is represented with the scroll: *cccc Agnus Dei,*[3] at the Porta de' Principi of Modena (c. 1100), at the cathedrals of Piacenza (1122-1132) and Ferrara (1135) and at S. Zeno of Verona (1138). Nicolò was very fond of putting John the Baptist in parallel with John the Evangelist,[4] as in the

[2] See below, Vol. II, p. 188. [3] Joan., i, 29. [4] Compare Dante, *Paradiso,* IV.

cathedrals of Piacenza (Plate 181, Fig. 1), Ferrara (Plate 88, Fig. 3) and Verona (Plate 217, Fig. 5) and at S. Zeno of Verona (Plate 225, Fig. 2). St. John the Evangelist, the titular saint of the basilica, is represented at Pieve Trebbio (1108).

The twelve apostles were sculptured (c. 1120) on the Porta de' Principi of Modena. Paul is substituted for Judas Iscariot. The apostles are without attributes other than a book or a scroll, with the exception of Peter who has the keys and a cross, and Paul who has a cross and a scroll. St. John the Evangelist is beardless, but so are Philip, James the Less and Matthias. A peculiarity of this series of sculptures is the fact that Matthias is represented in place of Andrew. On the font of Varese (1187) are depicted the twelve apostles. Thomas, Simon, Philip and Matthew are labelled; Peter has keys, Paul a sword and a book, Bartholomew a knife. In the arca of the cathedral of Parma are represented ten of the twelve apostles. The series includes Judas, and must therefore have followed literally the list given in the gospels. In mediæval iconography either Paul or Matthias was generally substituted for Judas. Peter has two keys and Bartholomew a knife, the other figures are without distinguishing attributes. Ten apostles are still extant in the architrave of Cremona (Plate 83, Fig. 4). In this series St. Paul was substituted for Judas. In the baptistery of Parma the apostles were sculptured twice. In the lunette of the Last Judgment (Plate 164, Fig. 3) Peter is distinguished by the keys, but the others have merely books or scrolls (Plate 164, Fig. 3). In the northern portal the twelve apostles are represented in bust upon medallions carried by twelve prophets (Plate 164, Fig. 1). This series included both Paul and Matthias so that one of the other apostles must have been omitted. This, however, was not Andrew, as was the case at Modena. Peter has keys, John is beardless, the others are without distinguishing attributes.

The apostles Paul, Peter and Bartholomew are depicted with their usual attributes in the XII century reliefs at Acqui. St. Peter is represented on the bronze doors of S. Zeno of Verona—1138—(Plate 233, Fig. 1) and in episcopal robes with keys at Bardone (c. 1200). St. Paul is represented at Modena

(c. 1120) with a scroll: *quicumque baptizati sumus in Christo Jesu,*[5] and on the bronze doors of S. Zeno of Verona—1138—(Plate 233, Fig. 1). St. Bartholomew was represented at Almenno S. Bartolomeo (c. 1140), and St. Simon at Borgo—1101-1106—(Plate 29, Fig. 5).

The four fathers of the Church ought to have been a favourite subject with the Lombard artists, since the body of St. Ambrose was preserved at Milan and that of St. Augustine at Pavia. In point of fact, however, they do not seem to have been often represented. The best example extant is the XIII century ambo at Modena, where Augustine and Ambrose each have a dove as an attribute, Gregory and Jerome an angel. Two of the church-fathers are possibly represented on a capital of the cathedral of Parma (c. 1130-1150), but the identification of this subject is exceedingly doubtful. A fragment of the ambo of Castell'Arquato contains a sculpture of Jerome with the inscription: *venite, filii, audite me; timorem domini docebo vos.* St. Ambrose is represented together with SS. Agricola and Tecla on the sarcophagus of S. Agricola at S. Pietro of Bologna (c. 1100). He also appears on a font of Varese (1187), and possibly at Fornovo (c. 1200). In none of these instances, nor in the numerous representations at S. Ambrogio of Milan, is the saint supplied with distinguishing attributes. St. Augustine appears as the patron of the Augustinian order in the tympanum of the north portal of Vezzolano (1189).

St. Stephen is represented in the mosaic pavement of Pieve Terzagni and in a XII century relief at Acqui; in the latter instance the saint carries a palm and a book. St. Lawrence with his grill is sculptured at Acqui. S. Giulia (?) appears to be represented between palms at Vaprio d'Adda (c. 1115). S. Candida and S. Paulina are represented above the nave arcade of Piacenza,[6] and S. Margherita in the bronze doors of S. Zeno of Verona—1138—(Plate 231, Fig. 1). At S. Ambrogio of Milan are images of various local saints—Gervasio, Protasio, Nabore, Felice, Satiro and Marcellina.

[5] Rom., vi, 3.

[6] S. Candida also appears in the apse mosaic of S. Ambrogio at Milan.

In the bronze doors of S. Zeno of Verona are also represented S. Benedetto—1138—(Plate 231, Fig. 1) and S. Zeno (Plate 233, Fig. 1). S. Zeno was sculptured as patron of Verona giving a banner to the horsemen and infantry of the commune in the lunette of the principal portal of S. Zeno of Verona by Nicolò in 1138.[7] S. Nicolò was sculptured at S. Michele of Pavia (c. 1100). S. Bassiano is represented in a sculpture now in the museum of Lodi but which comes from Lodi Vecchio (c. 1115). S. Giulio with his cane is represented on the ambo of Isola (Plate 100, Fig. 8). S. Guido holding a model of the church of Acqui which he built, is represented in a XII century relief of that cathedral. S. Abondio is portrayed like S. Michele trampling upon the dragon in a fragment of the ambo of S. Abondio of Como (1095). S. Colombano is twice represented in the church of Vaprio d'Adda (c. 1115); once he is given as an attribute doves, probably in reference to his name, and once he is shown in company with his monks of Bobbio. S. Ennodio is represented at S. Michele of Pavia (c. 1100) as is also in all probability S. Eleucadio. On the portal of Berceto is represented St. Remi (Plate 22, Fig. 3) whose memory was particularly associated with that monastery. On the bronze doors of S. Zeno of Verona—1138—(Plate 233, Fig. 1) S. Elena is represented crowned, carrying a cross with two bars.

[7] In the ciborio of S. Ambrogio of Milan, S. Ambrogio, S. Marcellina and SS. Gervasio e Protasio appear as patrons of the men and women of Milan and the canons of the church respectively.

CHAPTER X. SECULAR SUBJECTS

The custom of representing donors began at an early period in Lombard art. As early as the IX century the donor, Archbishop Angilberto, and the artist, Volvinio, were represented on the golden altar of S. Ambrogio (Plate 122, Fig. 3). These sculptures have doubtless been subsequently remade, but the subjects have not been changed. At S. Ponzo a legacy is graphically depicted. On the lintel is a graffito of a woman who lies dead, but holds out a purse (c. 1005). In the pavement of the Duomo of Reggio a donor is represented followed by his dog. Among the sculptures of Lodi Vecchio (c. 1115) now in the cathedral of Lodi is one depicting an archbishop, doubtless some benefactor of the cathedral, accompanied by his patron saint Stephen (?). The burgesses of Borgo appear as donors at the feet of the Madonna in a relief of the north portal at Borgo—1101-1106—(Plate 29, Fig. 5). On a capital of Castell'Arquato—1117-1122—(Plate 48, Fig. 4) are represented a man and woman, doubtless donors. A bishop with attendant is sculptured on the Porta de' Principi at Modena (1120). Individual donors are represented in the cathedral of Piacenza (1121 f.). The priest Giuliano was represented at Sasso in the sculptures of the ambo which he gave (Plate 205, Fig. 4). The significance is made unmistakable by the purse he carries in his hand. The female citizens of Parma bringing gifts to the cathedral are represented on a capital of that edifice (c. 1130-1150). Luitprando, the founder of the collegiate church at Casale, is represented in that cathedral on a capital and in a statue of the façade. Ansa, the foundress of S. Salvatore of Brescia, is represented on a capital of that convent (c. 1160) together with two nuns and S. Giulia the patron saint of the establishment. The burgesses and pilgrims who were shown the door of the church at Borgo by angels (Plate 30, Fig. 5) possibly find their place in the iconography of the edifice because the

church was built in part by their contributions. In the same edifice are sculptured the privileges granted to the church by the emperor Charlemagne (Plate 29, Fig. 5) and the popes Hadrian II (Plate 29, Fig. 5) and Alexander II.

Important donors to mediæval churches were the corporations or guilds of the various trades. Their benefactions were often recorded by plastic representations of the workmen at their various occupations. In the cathedral of Piacenza there is an important series of such reliefs placed each in the column paid for by the respective guild. The cobblers are represented twice, the cloth merchants, skin dressers, knife-sharpeners, bakers and dyers once each. Blacksmiths are represented at work on the Porta de' Principi of Modena (c. 1120) and on a capital of Castell'Arquato—1117-1122—(Plate 48, Fig. 4).

Genre scenes from the life of the people and the clergy not infrequently found their way into Lombard iconography. The distribution of wine and bread to the poor by the chapter was represented in the mosaic pavement of the Duomo of Reggio—c. 1090—(Plate 191, Fig. 1, 2). The baptism of a child of Parma is depicted on a capital of the cathedral of that city (c. 1130-1150). On a capital of the cloister of S. Orso of Aosta is sculptured the foundation of the chapter; another capital of the same cloister shows a genre scene of monastic life—the preparation of dinner. An ecclesiastic holding a candle was sculptured at Almenno S. Bartolomeo (c. 1140). Priests with candles and censers, holding books and blessing, are represented on the baptismal font of Vicofertile (c. 1200).

The life of the laity as well as that of the priests was occasionally represented. At S. Michele of Pavia (c. 1100) we see two persons grinding flour and a woman washing. A peasant with an enormous fish which he has just caught in the Po is depicted in the mosaic pavement of Casale. The "vile Raimondo" of Borgo (Plate 29, Fig. 4) must be a local caricature the significance of which is now lost.

Scenes from popular romances of an absolutely non-religious character sometimes found their place in the Lombard church. At Borgo S. Donnino is represented the traditional, but elusive,

Berta (Plate 29, Fig. 3) who even to-day still lives on the lips of Italian peasants.[1] At Cremona is represented another Berta, the mythical heroine of the Cremonese people and the equally legendary Giovanni Baldesio (Plate 83, Fig. 7).[2] Scenes from the Carlovingian cycle of romances were portrayed in the mosaic pavement at S. Maria Maggiore of Vercelli—1148—(Plate 215, Fig. 4). The paladins Roland and Oliver are sculptured on the jambs of the cathedral of Verona cheek by jowl with a series of the prophets (Plate 217, Fig. 1, 3).[3]

The naked Campaspe is seen seated upon Aristotle in a sculpture at S. Michele of Pavia.[4] The wild legend of Theodoric was sculptured by Nicolò at S. Zeno of Verona—1138—(Plate 229, Fig. 2).[5] An echo of this legend is probably to be found at S. Michele of Pavia (c. 1100) in a sculpture which represents a man holding a horn in his left hand, astride a galloping stag, while a demon flies behind.

A scene from the Arthurian cycle is represented on the Porta della Pescheria at Modena—1099-1106—(Plate 144, Fig. 3).[6] There is an analogous scene sculptured on the south-western side portal of S. Nicolò at Bari. From a central structure issue on foot four men, two on either side; against them come a series of men on horse-back. It is probable that light will be thrown upon the mysterious Modena archivolt when the excavation of the pavement at Bobbio is completed. One scene in this seems to represent a castle without a wall from the gate of which the defenders sally forth to give battle to the besiegers. In the interior of the castle is a woman. It will be seen that the analogies with the Modena relief (Plate 144, Fig. 3) are

[1] For details see below, Vol. II, p. 191.

[2] For this story in detail see below, Vol. II, pp. 389 f.

[3] Roland and Oliver are represented in the pavement of Brindisi illustrated by Schulz, Plate XLV.

[4] See Mâle, *Religious Art in France of the XIII Century*, 334.

[5] See below, Vol. III, p. 531; also Salimbene, ad ann. 1247, ed. Parma, 1857, 85; Sancti Gregorii Magni, *Dialogum*, Lib. IV, Cap. XXX, ed. Migne, *Pat. Lat.*, LXXVII, 369.

[6] For details see below, Vol. III, pp. 44 f. Compare A. Graf, *Appunti per la Storia del Ciclo Brettone in Italia*, in *Giornale Storico della Letteratura Italiana*, V, 1885, 80; Julius Pokorny, *Der Ursprung der Arthursage*, in *Mitteilungen der Anthropologischen Gesellschaft in Wien*, XXXIX, 1909, 90.

striking. The diffusion of the matter of Brittany in Italy at an early period may be gathered from the fact that Salimbene quotes Merlin as an indisputable authority in religious discussions.[7]

Echoes of the Arthurian or other romances are probably represented in numerous scenes of combat in Lombard iconography. The mysterious Mataliana sculptured by Guglielmo da Verona at S. Zeno—1138—(Plate 230, Fig. 4) is in all probability a character from some unknown chivalric legend.[8] This demoiselle is probably connected with a combat between knights on foot and on horse-back in the adjoining panels (Plate 229, Fig. 4). The same or another demoiselle is seen on the pilaster strip between the two duels and still another kneels to the left. At S. Bartolomeo of Fiumalbo (Modena) are sculptures of similar character in the pilaster of the south-western portal and in the rear of the altar.[9] They are undoubtedly fragments of the edifice of 1220.[10] The subjects are a battle scene, knights on horse-back with lances with pennants or on foot with swords, and a girl on horse-back holding a flower while on the same horse behind her sits a youth holding a sword in one hand while his other is extended about the girl's waist. At least some of the scenes from the tower sculptures at Borgo (Plate 30, Fig. 1, 2) were also probably inspired by a romance.

There are extant in Lombard art many scenes of duels and combats of all kinds and varieties. They abound in the sculptures of S. Michele of Pavia (c. 1100). Two knights fighting on horse-back are shown in the mosaic of S. Savino of Piacenza—1107—(Plate 186, Fig. 8); two men are depicted wrestling in the same pavement (Plate 186, Fig. 8); also two men fighting with shields and spears (Plate 186, Fig. 8).[11] Knights in combat

[7] Salimbene, ad ann. 1248, ed. Parma, 1857, 106-107; *ibid.*, 175; *ibid.*, 309.

[8] Compare the woman with a falcon on her wrist in the XII century Limoges champlevé triptych of the Morgan collection, Gallery 12, Case H.

[9] These sculptures have been illustrated by Toschi (476-478).

[10] On the principal portal is the inscription:

MCCXX. RESTAVRATA. MDLXXXXII.

[11] A duel scene representing two knights on foot fighting with shields and broadswords is represented on a XII century Limoges champlevé enamel in the Morgan collection, Gallery 12, Case H.

are represented on a capital of S. Giovanni in Borgo of Pavia now in the museum of that city (c. 1120). About contemporary are the two knights in tournament shown on a capital of S. Stefano of Pavia (Plate 179, Fig. 2). An analogous scene is found at Narni (Plate 179, Fig. 3) and on an ivory-carving of the Morgan collection, evidently a French work of the XIV century. In the latter, two knights in full armour are seen justing. The horses are caparisoned in long cloths; the scene is embellished by heralds with trumpets, spectators above, a crowned king in the centre. A scene of combat is represented on a capital of the cathedral of Parma (c. 1130-1150) and in the pavement of Casale (Plate 43, Fig. 1). A curious duel scene is represented on a capital of the cathedral of Modena (c. 1150). Two women are seen engaged in hitting the combatants over the head. A duel between knights was represented in the pavement of S. Prospero of Reggio (1148). The following panel shows the victor. Two men nearly naked are shown wrestling at Fornovo (c. 1200).

CHAPTER XI. THE LAST JUDGMENT

The Mirror of History ends with the solemn drama of the Last Judgment, the most impressive and grandiose of all the iconographic conceptions of the Middle Ages. In treating of this subject the poets and the artists of northern France rose perhaps to grander heights than they elsewhere attained. In Lombard iconography, however, the subject was but seldom attempted, and never according to the fully developed formula familiar in the North.[1]

The earliest representation of a subject connected with this cycle departs widely from the established types, and indeed presents peculiarities of iconography that are exceedingly difficult to understand. It is found on the tomb of S. Alberto of Pontida which dates from 1095. The first scene (Plate 189, Fig. 2) shows the horseman of the Apocalypse[2] holding in his hands scales in which he weighs the soul of the deceased.[3] Three other souls stand awaiting their turn. In the second scene (Plate 189, Fig. 1) the patron saints of Alberto, S. Giacomo and S. Ugo, plead for Alberto's soul before the Deity. S. Michele carries the soul on a napkin, Alberto holds in his hand a model of the monastery he had founded. The sculptures evidently represent not the Last Judgment but the arrival of the soul of Alberto in the other world.

On a capital of S. Michele of Pavia (c. 1100) an angel and a demon are represented fighting for the soul of a dying man. At Vaprio d'Adda (c. 1115) is sculptured an angel holding a soul between his legs. The torments of Hell are depicted at Fornovo—c. 1200—(Plate 94, Fig. 2).

1 See Mâle, *Religious Art of the XIII Century in France*, 355 f.

2 Apoc., vi, 5.

3 For the idea of the scales see Dan., v, 27; Enoch, xli, 2; Evans, 329.

The earliest representation of the Last Judgment, properly so called, was sculptured by Benedetto in the baptistery of Parma—1196-1214—(Plate 164, Fig. 3). It contains most of the essential iconographic elements, but lacks many of the details of the great French representations of the same subject (compare, for example, the Last Judgment of Bourges, Plate 164, Fig. 4).[4] In one detail, however, the Parma relief shows a deeper symbolism than the renowned sculptures of Bourges. The cross held by the angels is made not of boards but from the trunk of a tree, the branches of which have been lopped off. This is evidently in allusion to the legend that the cross was formed of the tree of the knowledge of good and evil. One other iconographical detail of the Parma sculptures is also notable. In the lower left-hand corner of the inner lunette is introduced the seated figure of St. John the Evangelist; the sculptor evidently wishes to indicate that it was by his vision that the secrets of the end of the world were revealed to man.

In Lombard art there is extant only one other representation of the Last Judgment. That is executed in graffito on the gable of the façade of S. Zeno of Verona. Unfortunately time and the hand of man have so seriously disfigured this monument that it is impossible to determine the iconographical peculiarities.

[4] For a detailed description see below, Vol. III, p. 142. Compare also Alain de Lille, *Anticlaudianus,* V, 7, ed. Migne, *Pat. Lat.,* CCX, 536 f.; S. Augustini, *De Civitate Dei,* XXII, 16, 17, ed. Dombart, II, 593; S. Augustini, Sermo XCIII, *De Scripturis,* ed. Migne, *Pat. Lat.,* XXXVIII, 577; *De triplici habitaculo,* Incerti Auctoris, ed. Migne, *Pat. Lat.,* XL, 991; Enoch, lvi, 8; Origenis, Περὶ Ἀρχῶν, II, X, ed. Migne, *Pat. Grec.,* XI, 233; Lamberton, in *American Journal of Archæology,* XV, 513.

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(1) All manuscripts; those which I have examined are cited in foot-notes, *passim*.

(2) The standard collections of mediæval sources familiar to all students, such as Muratori's *Rerum Italicarum Scriptores*, and *Antiquitates Italicæ Medii Ævi;* the *Monumenta Germaniæ Historica;* the *Historiæ Patriæ Monumenta;* Migne's *Patrologiæ*, etc.

(3) Ancient writings, chronicles, annals, diplomas, bulls, etc., published in such collections of sources.

(4) All guide-books, books of souvenir or travel, and other works of similar character, except where the same constitute a real contribution to knowledge.

(5) Scientific and learned periodicals; but individual articles in the same are included.

(6) Articles in newspapers and non-scientific periodicals, except in a few cases where such constitute a real contribution to knowledge.

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